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THE STRUCTURE OF THE *CONTE DEL GRAAL*

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PERCEVAL CRITICISM is a criticism of parts. It desires to explain the incident, such as the grail procession, or it seeks the source and archetype. The three schools of interpretation, Celtic, Christian, and ritual, no longer completely held as mutually exclusive, still dominate our readings of the poem, and we seem to be satisfied to accept previously established categories and classifications. Thus Mme Lot-Borodine is able to concentrate her attention upon the grail scene itself, to explain it, and then, realizing that any work of art involves a certain totality above and beyond its parts, to relate this scene to the entire poem, to its structure—Gawain and Perceval sections—and to its hero. But this still remains a classic case of proceeding from the part to the whole—invalid unless one maintains, as Francis Fergusson does in his discussion of a drama which imitates action, that the part is the analogue to the whole and the whole is the analogue to the part. Mme Lot-Borodine tends towards this view, but unfortunately it remains unspoken and the part ever, does not know what to do with Gawain and it perverts the text is still her starting point.

If we are to consider the *Conte del Graal* as a work of art, a consideration ignored by the best of scholars, we must transcend a criticism of parts, for universality is not merely universality of matter, but universality of form. I believe it is not erroneous to consider the concept of significant form (accepting the nomenclature of Suzanne Langer) or of total form as pertinent here. Either the *Conte del Graal* is a work of art or it is not. There should be no hedging on this point. Let us recall for a moment the criticism of Sister Amelia Klenke, if we can remain dispassionate; she begins by calling our attention to the fact that without an allegorical interpretation—her own—the poem does not seem to hold together, that it seems merely a confusion of themes and motives only partially integrated. It is a matter which remains an *anigma* and calls for a *sententia*. Her view is no more than a recognition of the need for an organic view of form; her interpretation, how far as the Perceval-Blancheflor episode is concerned. She recognizes the principle of significant form—organic whole, totality, virtual life, etc. And in her view a rejection of the possibilities of allegorical interpretation means a rejection of the poem as a work of art. In fact, the tendency to view the genre of the romance as something different, as something involving a completely different set of conditions, is fully

suspect. William Woods recognizes the same principles when he examines the matter of the *Conte del Graal* and finds it confused and obscure, thus necessitating one of two things: either the poem is an artistic failure, or it is an *enigma* and demands a reading on the level of *sens*, a reading which will clarify the obscurities on the level of matter.¹

Thus critics such as Nitze see the poem as a combination of different elements—Celtic legend, Byzantine ritual, the lance of Longinus, the Alexander romance, Good Friday penitence, etc.²—and he finds the poem put together from these various sources. A combination, but nowhere does he say what the combination is. One can say that a thing is made up of certain elements, but this does *not* answer the question of what the thing is. Is it not a commonplace of contemporary literary theory that $A + B$ does not remain $A + B$ but can and does and must become C ? That Nitze feels guilty about this is probably best shown by an essay published in 1949 at Berkeley, in which the author develops the sin motif as the poem's unifier and seeks a theme of an intention-fulfillment paradox, whose solution is a submission to the divine law.³ The structure of the poem is basically a pattern of success, failure and recovery, a vague statement of something developed more fully in relationship to Chretien's other romances in a slightly later article by Woods.⁴ Helen Adolf is more definite.⁵ Presenting a theory of the personal symbol and an understanding of the power of the archetype, she recognizes a doubling which results when the symbol loses its identification and, so to speak, floats without mooring; a confusion of themes follows from this. In the case of Chretien the confusion is attributed to the use of three sources and three basic motifs in the poem—the vengeance motif around the lance-wounded warrior symbol, the fairy tale spell motif around the grail and sword symbols and scenes, and the great fool motif around the Red Knight and the vengeance of the slap theme. The highly unconscious creation of the artistic work, and the confusion on the literal level, or the level of matter, is then resolved by Miss Adolf by her reading on a historical level. She believes that these various elements were brought together because Chretien was aiming at Philip of Flanders' relations with the Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Perceval-Philip identification is the result of Chretien's attempt to give fairy tale material a more serious meaning.

Other writers and scholars have presented theories and interpretations based upon the same recognition of a part-whole dualism. At

1. William Woods, "The Plot Structure in Four Romances of Chretien de Troyes," *SP*, L (1953), 4.

2. William A. Nitze, "The Bleeding Lance and Philip of Flanders," *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 309–10.

3. William A. Nitze, *Perceval and the Holy Grail* (Berkeley, 1949), p. 302.

4. Woods, *SP*, L, 4.

5. Helen Adolf, "Studies in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*," *MLQ*, VIII (1947), 3–19.

least they have found a motif and have said it was all, and have protected themselves in a mysticism that would have done credit to a Chretien. Thus Guénon⁶ sees the archetype of the grail legend as being the search for a spiritual center (the new Eden); this, by the way, is very similar to Mme Lot-Borodine's theme of the Terrestrial Eden, lost and regained, which she attempts to develop in terms of the total structure of the poem. Closs⁷ relates the grail legend to an astral or sun motif based upon the dualism of night and day, winter and summer, and Frappier⁸ concurs, seeing the theme of the alternation of the seasons and the yearly cycle at the bottom of the grail episodes. For Nelli⁹ a theme of initiation unites a collection of traditional elements such as the importance of the mother, the question, the quest, the simple hero, and so on.

The above mentioned writers, of course, can be forgiven because they concern themselves with the general grail theme and not the specific poem; and therefore their approaches may be anthropological, psychological, or philosophical. And this approach has its value in terms of the specific work. But it must eventually give way to an esthetic approach, or we will never really know what we have. Much of the scholarship on Chretien has managed to avoid the central question of meaning; only an examination of the question of structure and total form can lead us to an answer. It is exactly this position that Mme Lot-Borodine has reached and that Roger Sherman Loomis has denied.

Thus this paper will pursue the question of structure, and from this I proceed to the question of meaning. Involved will be such matters as the relationship of the Gawain sections to the Perceval sections, and the unity of each section.

True, the problem of structure and meaning has not been altogether neglected. The work of Micha, Lot-Borodine, Hatzfeld, Woods, and most recently a Turkish scholar, Bayrav, suggests the contrary. Micha in his essay proposes the theory that the *Conte del Graal* is a "roman éducatif." By this he means that the romance deals with the forming of the knight and the various stages of his development, the precepts to adopt, the qualities to possess in order to come to a perfect blossoming forth or expansion of one's being. The steps in this education involve the departure from the maternal house, the teachings of the mother, the teachings of Gornemant, the initiation into love (Blancheflor), and the religious formation (which also involves a series of steps, for when Perceval begins the grail quest, he has no concern for interior

6. René Guénon, "L'Esotérisme du graal," in *Lumière du graal*, ed. René Nelli (Paris, 1951), pp. 37-49.

7. Hannah Closs, "Convergence des sources," in *Lumière du graal*, pp. 50-68.

8. Jean Frappier, "Le Cortège du graal," in *Lumière du graal*, p. 185.

9. René Nelli, "Le Graal dans l'ethnographie," in *Lumière du graal*, pp. 13-36.

perfection and he begins this quest as he does all others). Thus Perceval's education consists of the learning of three codes, the code of chivalry, the code of love, and the code of religion;¹⁰ but in this last case Micha fails to show how this religion "se réduit aussi à un code," beyond the learning of pity. Furthermore Micha is at a loss what to do with the Gawain sections, and in one place he states that the *Conte del Graal* seems to be formed of two distinct episodic romances; later he sees Gawain as the knight who is already the true knight, "qui a le prix de toutes les qualités," and as an opposition to Perceval, who is rising to perfection.¹¹ This view, of course, does not answer the question of the elaboration of the Gawain sections, and leaves us only with a highly developed and possibly over-developed opposition. Mme Lot-Borodine, as already suggested, is most fully aware of the problems of total structure; and she is one of the few critics to rise from the part to the whole (although she does begin with the part). I believe she intended to suggest a part-whole analogue—for the grail scene is a parallel to the action of the entire poem and in this scene is contained the entire poem, as in the entire poem is contained this scene. The grail scene and procession is more than Roques' view of "a symbolic exposition of the Christian Faith going from the Redemption to the Eucharistic Communion."¹² It is a presentation of the return of the Earthly Paradise, the paradise lost in Man's sin and found in his Christian faith and hope. The Grail Castle episode, with its hope of a revival and a re-vivification, symbolically presents the Resurrection of the Dead, the authentic immortality of the Resurrection—and no mere visit to an other-world, or to a castle of the dead.¹³ (From this point of view one could say that the light accompanying the grail is the light entering Hell at Christ's death and descent.)

Continuing, Mme Lot-Borodine explains the feast and abundance of the Grail Castle as a symbol for the earthly Eden which is lost and then restored. The Fisher King is the figure of the old Adam, with his punishment of concupiscence or original sin, and the Grail King, his father, is Adam Redeemed, the new Adam. In this light, the terrestrial Paradise is a prefiguring of the Church and of the Eucharist, which is the heart of the Church.¹⁴ The grail-bearer is the Church, the *tailloir*-bearer is the Faith in the Eucharist, and the bleeding lance is "l'économie redemptrice," signifying baptism and the Eucharist, the sacrifice and the consecutive birth of the church. Thus the whole grail episode

10. Alex. Micha, "Le Roman du graal," in *Lumière du graal*, pp. 122-31, see especially p. 129.

11. Micha, p. 127.

12. Cited by M. Lot-Borodine, "Le Conte del graal de Chrétien de Troyes et sa présentation symbolique," *Romania*, LXXVII (1956), 258.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

is no less than the spiritual history of mankind, and this is figured in the poem's major development—the growth of Perceval, who is Man, and a man. Perceval is an *anima naturaliter christiana*, a soul strayed and sinning, which follows Christian obedience and is led upon the dolorous way to repentance and to expiation—the *via dolorosa* of purgation, and of a mystical theology, which is far greater than any simple concept of salvation. Mme Lot-Borodine emphasizes the importance of sin in Perceval's soul, its repression and its explosion, and she shows the progress of this soul through an almost black night of despair, symbolized by five years of wandering, during which he performs automatic and useless acts of chivalry, and forgets God. In a sense, then, the action of Perceval is the quest for Eden, and this is the action of the grail scene. His sin is original since it proceeds from a natural state; so too the sin of the Fisher King. Gawain is a parallel to Perceval. He is terrestrial chivalry as Perceval is celestial chivalry. He is, in fact, "l'image parfaite des vertus personnelles et des valeurs sociales de sa condition, de son état, à la tête d'une compagnie idéalisée qui se veut et qui se voit comme norme d'une civilisation accomplie."¹⁵ While this does not exactly explain just what Gawain's position in the poem is, it does open up some possibilities for explaining the elaboration and development of the Gawain section.

Finally Süheyla Bayrav, in a book which purports to examine medieval symbolism and Chretien, but which merely suggests a possible structure and meaning for the Perceval poem, sees the Perceval section as divided into two sections, having exact parallels. (This is one of the few attempts to proceed from structure toward meaning.) She makes her dividing line at the visit to the Grail Castle. Her analysis of the poem's structure breaks down as follows:¹⁶

Visit to the Grail
Castle

| Part I | Part II |
|--|---|
| 1. The knights met at his mother's —his secret vocation revealed. | 1. His cousin met—his fault revealed and his identity discovered. |
| 2. Act of brutality—the Woman of the Tent. | 2. He repairs this act—re-establishes the innocence of the Woman of the Tent. |
| 3. Episode of the Red Knight. | 3. Three drops of blood on the snow—red has various symbolic meanings. |

15. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

16. Süheyla Bayrav, *Symbolisme médiéval* (Istanbul, 1956), pp. 103–105.

Part I

4. Gornemant—instruction in chivalry.
5. Blancheflor—opening of Perceval's heart to love.

Part II

4. Ugly messenger—reminds Perceval of his duties.
5. Perceval's five years—closing of Perceval's heart to love.

While Perceval at the beginning of Part I learns his vocation, it is only at the beginning of Part II that he learns of his identity; Bayrav might have quoted at this point Perceval's mother: "for by the name one knows the man." This means that Perceval is unknown until he is named, and Bayrav takes this naming in the symbolic sense of the assuming of one's identity. This is a major point in her interpretation. Perceval is the Christian soul and its journey from unconsciousness to consciousness and to identity. The steps are three. Perceval begins in the unconscious; his acts and responses are natural, i.e., automatic, and he can be only protected by Grace. From this he rises to consciousness; he begins to think, to reason, and to *choose*—at this point Grace is no longer sufficient, and with consciousness of being must come consciousness of sin. The last step is the gaining of individuality and the sense of guilt with penitence and personal merit. In Part I Grace suffices; in Part II personal merit is necessary. The Perceval poem is then a gaining of a *self*—a symbolic presentation of the roles of *Grace* and of *Merit* in the work of salvation.¹⁷ As for the Gawain sections, Bayrav has less enterprise and relies on critical commonplaces: they second Perceval in his quest, and they are used as a yardstick of the poem. The adventure and quest of Perceval, like the adventure at the enchanted Castle of Maidens, passes within the confines of the hero's own maternal family.¹⁸ But Bayrav does not go beyond this point.

Another organization or structure is possible for the Perceval sections of the poem. This organization involves three parts instead of Bayrav's two. Part I is marked by the presentation of Perceval as the *naïf* and presents a series of episodes culminating in the restoration of the stolen cup to Arthur's court and the defeat of Arthur's traditional enemy, the Red Knight. Basic to this part is the advice given to Perceval by his mother; in fact, this advice precedes all the adventures in this section. The advice is simple and presents the nucleus of a chivalric and a religious development, with the added presentation of a psychological one, if we agree that her second precept, to learn the name of the company one keeps, is a foreshadowing of a theme of the development of the self. She admonishes her son to serve ladies and maidens and to enter minster and to pray to God; this last point is followed by a short religious lesson. Also contained in this first section of the poem are the

17. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 106 and pp. 164-65.

development of Perceval's indifference and his complete, monomaniacal devotion to a quest—the quest of arms at Arthur's court. He is indifferent, in order, to the sorrows of his mother, of the Lady of the Tent, and of Arthur. This section ends on the note of a restoration, and if we accept the cup as a symbol of Arthur's reign and of the rule of the kingdom, we can see that more than just a cup has been restored. The court at Perceval's arrival is in a state of inaction, stupor, and fear. This is possibly a trance, and Guinevere feels that she will die as a result of the insult of the Red Knight. She has retired and possibly she will die. In fact a state of deadness is suggested not only by the inactivity of the court, but also by Arthur's sorrow and anger at those of his companions who had returned to their castles (to death). Thus this section is marked by three features that will appear in the two following Perceval sections: the quest, the advice, and the restoration.

The second section also involves a quest, an advice, and a restoration. Gornemant provides the advice in the form of a chivalric catechism (question and answer: "And if your lance broke?"), which will have later parallels in a grail catechism. Perceval's education on a chivalric level involves several symbols, traditionally chivalric, which will later take on a more personal and religious significance. At the present these symbols remain partially hidden. It is obvious that the lance and the sword are the accouterments of a knight, and it is in their use that Gornemant instructs Perceval. The dish is also possibly a courtly symbol, a symbol of the second grace of the knight—manners and friendship—and Gornemant and Perceval feast from the same dish, a detail which is emphasized. But even if the point is stretched, the lance and the sword are two chivalric symbols which reappear with a religious symbol in the grail scene. The advice of Gornemant is fourfold: have mercy if a knight begs you quarter, be discreet and do not talk too much, help ladies and maidens, and pray to God and be a good Christian in this *earthly life*. It is to be noted here that the last two points of this advice are similar to two of the counsels of Perceval's mother, and that Perceval's quest will follow the advice rather than precede it as in the first section (a point important to his development). That Perceval is to say, "The vavasor who buckled on your spur taught you so," rather than, "My mother taught me so," signifies that the natural, by lineage, has been replaced by the chivalric, by education. This section essentially closes with the second restoration—the restoration of Blanchefflor's land, which is a dying land, a type of wasteland, such that Clamadeu, himself, refers to its knights as a "troop of dead men." The land is described:

In better days the servants would have been handsome fellows, but through lack of food and sleep they were wonderfully changed, and if the fields out-

side were ravaged and stripped, it was no better within. Wherever the new knight passed, he found the streets empty and the old houses tumbled down, and there was neither man nor woman about. There were two abbeys in the town, one of terrified nuns, the other of helpless monks, and the buildings were not in a good state, and the walls were cracked and the towers roofless and the gates open both night and day. No mill was grinding or oven baking in the whole town; there was no bread or cake or even a penny's worth of anything for sale. The night found the castle so desolate that there was no bread, pastry, wine, cider, or ale.¹⁹

It is significant that in relationship to Perceval's victories, there is an arrival of a ship of goods and a return of prosperity to the town with all social and religious offices restored. The hero learns love, love begins to thrive, and he becomes a king in this kingdom. So much so that he sees it as an end and wishes to bring his mother here, if he should find her. The third grace and perfection culminates and completes this set of values; but a quest remains, to seek his mother, and the end is not totally complete without this quest. Thus again we have the three elements common to the three sections of the Perceval plot—the advice, the quest, and the restoration.

The third section is the one most filled with details, but these common features remain predominant. The one major difference is that the third restoration fails—that it becomes only a potential restoration (and that the fault is laid to sins emanating from the two earlier sections—the lack of sympathy from the first, and over-discretion from the second). Furthermore one notes that Perceval, while questing for something from the second section, comes face to face with the third restoration. But he has only the quest and the advice from the second section to aid him; in fact, this restoration is not preceded by an advice or a proper education (as if to say that the chivalric and the natural are not enough), and this is possibly a reason for his failure. It is only after the advice and instruction of the hermit that we may assume that Perceval is ready for the third and final restoration, which is for Mme Lot-Borodine the symbolic presentation of the ever-present mystery and truth of Resurrection. The three chivalric symbols appear in another context, and two remain possibly chivalric and one becomes religious (a foreshadowing of and analogue to the future merging of chivalric and religious levels—Perceval does not yet understand this—also note that the cousin, hag, and hermit keep the lance question separate from the grail question; two separate failures to ask two separate questions were involved). This failure of the third restoration is followed by a long sequence of advice, quest, and advice. The lamenting maiden, more interested in ques-

19. *Medieval Romances*, ed. R. S. Loomis and L. H. Loomis (New York, 1957), p. 37. (All quotations from the Perceval plot will be taken from this translation; all quotations from the Gawain plot will be taken from the translation of R. W. Linker [Chapel Hill, 1952].)

tioning Perceval than in lamenting, presents him with a grail catechism and sets him on a new quest, showing him the futility of his old one. This is followed by Perceval's righting the wrong done to the Lady of the Tent (first section) and his meditation on his loved one (second section). The hag, a good figure for a wasteland, must further direct him on his quest and it is only after long wandering and the advice of the hermit that he is ready. The advice involves a belief in, a love for, and a worship of God, an honoring of good men and women, a humility marked by rising in the presence of the priest (the chivalric bowing before the religious), and the helping of maidens. This advice seems, as pointed out by Hatzfeld, to involve a strict observance of chivalric duties rather than of spiritual exercises²⁰—it seems to combine all the elements of the first and second advices—but here it becomes meaningful, because in this third section Perceval had forgotten God, as in the second section he learned what helping maidens involved.

There are then three broad sections of the Perceval plot of the *Conte del Graal*, and they involve three restorations, three advices, and three quests. They could be plotted as follows:

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Part I | Mother's advice | —Quest of chivalry, of knight- |
| | Restoration of Arthur's | hood and of Arthur's court |
| | cup | (as Perceval speaks of his |
| | | mother's advice) |
| Part II | Gornemant's advice | —Quest of his mother (as he |
| | Restoration of Blanche- | speaks of Gornemant's advice) |
| | flor's kingdom | |
| Part III | Hermit's advice | —Quest of the grail (twice in- |
| | Restoration of the Grail | terrupted) |
| | Castle | |

Now, each advice and quest and restoration exists on a different level, and it is this which suggests a possible *sens* for the poem. Each section is an analogue for every other section and also involves a progression, a rising from a beginning point to a culminating point which involves the furthest possibilities of the level concerned—so that one might say the first section could not proceed beyond the restoration of the cup, and the second section could never proceed beyond the restoration of Belrepaire (notice how Perceval considers Belrepaire as an end). One also notices differences of detail on each level—the first seems to partake more of the magical, the second more of the courtly, the third more of the symbolic (consciously so). Further, one notices that the so-called sins of Perceval presented on the third level involve sins that have origins on the first and second levels; it is only on the third level that they

20. Helmut Hatzfeld, "Esthetic Criticism Applied to Medieval Literature," *Romance Philology*, I, (1947-48), 317.

are resolved, and only after a sin appropriately belonging to this level, the forgetting of God, is committed by the hero. It is my belief that in these three sections and three levels Chretien is presenting to us the possibilities of life—but only the possibilities as concerns the class for which he wrote. These are the three levels for the knight, and they are unified by a broad ideal of chivalry. Each level at one place or another comes into conflict with another level; one level is used to show the limitations, or the possibilities of another level. There is a constant tension between the natural, the chivalric, and the spiritual—but these three are not separate categories, they are rather aspects and possibilities of the one ideal of chivalry. The basic tension of the poem results from a symbolic presentation of the possibilities of chivalry and the chivalric ideal. In this light, Hatzfeld sees a fundamental chivalric-spiritual nucleus as the artistic unity of the poem.²¹

The first section of the Perceval plot presents Perceval as the child of a wilderness (or Eden?), a *naïf*, who goes in quest of arms and the chivalric, a quest which is treated as inevitable and as fated, for the chivalric desire is part of the good lineage. The emphasis is on the gifts of nature, and Perceval, as a natural, is unnamed, responds instinctively and automatically, and cannot make distinctions (the way he takes Kai's jest). As already said, the advice given to him contains the kernel of the entire poem, the religious and chivalric possibilities open to the youth of good lineage, but they remain as advice on the natural level, for this is their context. The problem of the conflict and tension between levels is evident in several cases, for Perceval sees the knights and thinks they are angels, saying that the knight is "more beautiful than God." The same conflict exists when Perceval sees the magnificent tent, a symbol of the pride of chivalry, and thinks it a house of God. These two episodes are parallel; they indicate the analogue for the *sens* of the entire poem—and the confusion of levels, the chivalric and the religious, which must be resolved and transcended by the third part of the poem. The restoration of this section of the poem is fully within the capabilities of the hero on this first level of existence. The cup (heavy emphasis on magic?) and the unorthodox combat and killing of the Red Knight suggest this; the heavily Celtic background of this section presents a land of marvels in keeping with the lack of consciousness on the part of Perceval.

The second section of the poem also contains an advice which encompasses the elements of the chivalric-religious nucleus, for Perceval shall help maidens and he shall be a good Christian in this earthly life, i.e., in a life dominated by the natural and the chivalric. That the chivalric on the second level is recognized as not enough is, I think,

21. *Ibid.*

sufficiently indicated by Perceval's second quest, the quest for his mother—or for the natural. His ideal, never obtained, is to enshrine his mother in Belrepaire, to unite the two levels. The restoration of Belrepaire, limited in one sense and complete in another, is the utmost perfection possible on this second level. By this time, Perceval has learned the three graces of chivalry, and the restoration is seen in terms of orthodox and excellent combat, involving mercy, skill of arms, and gracefulness. The motivating force is love and honor. And by this point, it would seem that Perceval has obtained the pinnacle of success: he has reached the high point of the chivalric; yet, his desire for the quest of his mother entails a recognition that a limitation exists—that a unity is necessary. The paradox is that when the actual proof of this limitation is given, it is not given in Perceval's terms.

The third section at once takes the perfected Perceval and the code he represents and throws him into a situation where he must fail. The structure of the poem suggests that the reason for this failure is that Perceval receives no preliminary advice. And the theme suggests that here we are finally given the fullest presentation of the limitations of a code and an ideal. Perceval is asked to make a third restoration within a code that has already made its restoration. The first restoration was the highest point of which Perceval was capable on the first level; the second restoration was the highest point on the second level—Perceval is asked to make the third restoration without having transcended the first and second levels, which have already been exploited to their farthest points. The symbolic presentation is best shown by the two sins of Perceval, sins related causally as the first two levels are related, the germ of one contained in the other, and so forth. Perceval committed a sin in relationship to his mother (on level two, he would not have); Perceval failed to ask the vital questions (on level one, he would not have). He has sinned on both levels, each sin shows the imperfections and the limitations of each level, and the causal relationship between them shows the limitation of a combination of levels without something else, a transcendence. The greatest irony at this point is that Perceval, instead of effecting a restoration, brings about the opposite result. And this third restoration is no less than the symbolic participation in the mystery of the Resurrection, with its chivalric symbols transformed, with its Host, its procession, its light (the light which entered Hell). The second restoration was the symbolic presentation of the rite of a chivalric code, the first, the celebration of the powers of lineage and nature. The third involves a completely different aspect, chivalry and Christian man, and the Resurrection which is the great message of Christianity.

Following this failure at the Grail Castle, Perceval must go through

a long process of education. He has to transcend the level of chivalry—he learns that the quest for his mother is useless, and throughout feels even more the limitations of this level. Chretien presents us with a series of scenes, all significant because they involve these limitations. It is as if at this point Chretien were showing us the conflict and tension between the chivalric and the religious. For instance, this section involves a seeking of adventure, an avenging of a slap, and a dispensing of a chivalric penance to the Proud Knight of the Clearing, ironical because a man who himself is so much in need of penance dispenses penance, a definite confusion of levels. Perceval knows he must seek the grail, but not being in a position to obtain it, he seeks adventure; and the chivalric ideal is still in conflict with the religious. "The same morning Perceval had risen early, according to custom, to seek adventure." It is in this light that I would present the famous episode of the three drops of blood on the snow. This is the finest moment on the chivalric level: love and arms. For in his ecstasy of contemplation, Perceval gains strength and force; his love strengthens, and we have two of the great values of the chivalric code.

The hag appears at Arthur's court and sets Perceval again to desiring the grail. She emphasizes only Perceval's sin committed on the second level—the chivalric. And again unprepared (how can he be until he receives the proper advice, as in sections one and two?), he embarks on a mere chivalric quest for adventure. Twice in this third section we have an admonition and a presentation of Perceval's guilt, twice we have a desire on his part to seek the grail, and twice we have him seeking adventure. It is as if a wall prevented him from transcending the chivalric level and its limitations. This time he wanders five years seeking adventure and forgetting God—he captures fifty knights and does marvellous feats of arms—but he has forgotten God and purpose. He wanders—chivalry is released from all context and becomes a glorification of its own limitations. This is all useless and Perceval forgets time, as is violently shown by the Good Friday episode. This scene is possibly the analogue for the entire poem, or for a major part of it. The knight seeking adventure encounters the knight seeking God; the warrior knight encounters the pilgrim knight. It is at this point that Chretien begins to reconcile the two levels and values, and the chivalric and the religious are combined in the knight doing penance. Perceval is told of Christ; the Resurrection is emphasized ("Right holy was that death which saving and restored the dead to life"), and confession is called the highest work for a Christian. The culmination of all this is the advice of the hermit, finally given when the possibility of resolving the tension between the chivalric and the religious exists. The advice enumerates three sins of Perceval and presents four points which are merely

the summation of the advice of Perceval's mother (help maidens, worship God, seek the name—which suggests an honouring of good men) and the advice of Gornemant (worship God, help maidens), with one significant addition—be humble and rise in the presence of priests. Why just this particular addition? I believe it is because this signifies that humility for the knight means a recognition of his limitation as a knight (he is also a man) and the limitations of his ideal and of his code. I cannot believe that Perceval's fault can be much more than this, because he intends and desires to ask questions at the Grail Castle—this is a repeated detail. The rising in the presence of the priest signifies the transcending of the chivalric-religious conflict. It is then, with this advice and this transcendence of the conflict between the levels, that the third restoration becomes possible—Perceval learns the mystery of the Resurrection, which is the restoration in religious terms. That the Grail Castle will be restored is the symbolic presentation of this mystery.

I have avoided all problems of origins and sources, and I have tried to proceed from a view of the structure of the Perceval section. I have found three distinct parts, each with three stressed features, and I have shown that each seems to come into conflict with another through certain juxtapositions, as in the case of Perceval's thinking the tent a church, and his adventuring armed on Good Friday. It is my view that the theme of the *Conte del Graal* is the theme of a nature, chivalry, religion conflict—with the chivalric ideal at the center of this conflict and theme—which is to be transcended so that all these values become one. Chretien's prologue on charity identifies chivalry and religion in one figure—the Count. "The Count loves justice, loyalty, and Holy Church, and hates all uncourtly behavior."

There are several possible approaches to the Gawain sections of the poem, and they have all been used by critics and scholars. One could deny any relationship to the Perceval plot, as does Professor Loomis in his recent translation of the romance when he writes: "The adventures of Gawain that occupy the latter part of the romance of Perceval . . . have no relation to the hero."²² Accordingly, he omits these

22. *Medieval Romances*, p. 5. See also M. de Riquer, *Filologia Romanza*, IV (1957), 119-47. This argument against the unity of work is based on inconsistencies of chronology in the two parts of the poem and on certain internal discordances which, according to Riquer, can only be explained by the intervention of an editor. This has been contested by Frappier in *Moyen Age*, XIII (1958), 67-102; he basically argues that chronology was unimportant to Chretien (there are major ambiguities as far as chronology is concerned within each section of the poem). For instance, answering Riquer where he claims the Gawain section involves a time sequence of six days, M. Frappier notes that Perceval's stay at the hermitage follows the episode of Escavalon and that, returning to Gawain, the narration is clearly connected to his preceding adventure, but that chronological uncertainties persist. I accept Professor Frappier's conclusion that Chretien is guided in the construction of his work by the psychology and the *sens*.

adventures from his translation. One could take a view similar to that of Gustave Cohen and see a kind of negative relation. This means seeing the Gawain plot as a foil to the Perceval plot, for according to Cohen, Gawain is associated with the theme of the quest—but not so by heavenly inspiration nor by a movement of the heart, but rather by an imposed condition.²³ Thus Cohen seems to neglect one possibility: the fact that the quest of the lance is imposed upon Gawain does not mean that he does not desire it; it may be a symbolic consequence of his original quest, of the chivalric ideal of seeking adventure, of Gawain's original desire to go to Montescleire, which is from his own will and his heart. Or one could take the view suggested by Professors Hatzfeld and Woods that the Gawain plot is a parallel to the Perceval plot.²⁴ The two plots are used to suggest two aspects, the spiritual and the courtly spirit. This is Mme Lot-Borodine's terrestrial chivalry *vs.* celestial chivalry parallel. Gawain's task, symbolized by the quest of the lance, signifies the courtly spirit, while Perceval's task, symbolized by the quest of the grail, signifies spirituality (an over-simplification since Perceval's quest is actually two-fold, the quest of the lance and the quest of the grail, and the two questions related to these two quests are always kept separate, so that one could say that Perceval's quest signifies the unification of the courtly spirit and spirituality, so that the attainment of one means the attainment of the other, this being the theme of the chivalric-spiritual tension and its transcendence and its harmony). Helmut Hatzfeld thinks that the spiritual has the task

23. Gustave Cohen, *Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre* (Paris, 1931, p. 464.

24. Woods, *SP*, I, 13. See also the comments of Frappier (*Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1957, pp. 176, 208), who sees the Gawain plot as counter-pointing the Perceval plot, and who sees Gawain as "moins quêteur que touriste de la prouesse mondaine," and the comments of Kellermann (*Aufbaustil und Weltbild Chrestiens Von Troyens im Percevalroman*, Halle, 1936, p. 95), who sees Gawain as a *Gegenbild*: "Er [Chrétien] führt das rein weltliche Rittertum vor neben dem stark ethisch-religiös unterstrichenen; das rein marchenhaft Befreiungsmotiv neben der schicksalsmässigen Berufung, die zu ihrer Verwirklichung seelische Läuterung voraussetzt; das rein höfische (stellenweise unhöfisch sinnliche) Liebesverlangen Gauvains neben Percevals Bindung an Höhres." David C. Fowler's interesting book, *Prowess and Charity in the Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes* (Seattle, 1959), to which Mr. William Ryding has called my attention, and which offers an analysis of the poem's structure on the basis of a psychological conflict in Perceval between the ideals of prowess and charity, offers the view that Gawain represents the values of prowess in their highest form (yet by seeing these values as destructive—the bleeding lance suggesting death and bloodshed—I feel that Fowler fails to consider that in the Gawain plot there is limitation rather than failure, that no lands suffer because the wrong values have been chosen). Furthermore, after stating that Gawain represents prowess in its highest form, Fowler turns away from the question and resorts to what seems to me an unnecessary argument: Chrétien shifts focus from Perceval to Gawain, a protagonist for whom *aventure* was still possible and meaningful, in order to keep the romance frame of his poem. It thus seems so far that the only sensible explanation of the presence of the Gawain plot is to say that Chrétien intended some kind of extended comparison with Perceval. It is just this kind of vagueness that I should like to see avoided.

of enhancing the merely secular, correct and honest behavior. Professor Woods goes further and seeks direct parallels: Gawain's being hindered by the Guingambresil episode—Perceval's being hindered in his quest; Belle Pucelle who predicts Perceval's greatness—Pucelle Aux Manches Petites, "who has certain foreknowledge of Gawain's prowess"; Kai's evil tongue—the evil tongue of the sister of the Pucelle Aux Manches Petites; Perceval's encounter with the grieving maiden in the forest—Gawain's; the sword to be won at Montescleire—Perceval's sword at the Grail Castle; and the good to be given to the Grail Castle—the good to be given to the enchanted Castle of Ladies. His conclusion is understated and vague: Gawain represents a quest on a mundane level and Perceval represents a quest on a higher level. His caution permits him to say no more than "on a higher level."

If we accept R. S. Loomis' view, we have an artistic failure or two separate poems, in which case we would have to judge each separately. If we accept the notion of a contrast, we may well wonder why such a contrast is necessary, and if we accept a view which posits parallels between the two plots, again we wonder why. Those that deny any connection deny artistic unity; those that see a connection are at a loss to say why this connection is necessary, for one must believe in the absolute necessity of this Gawain section—remove it and something vital is lost, something which is part of an organic whole. It is my belief that a vital connection does exist and that it is vital to the developed presentation of a theme suggested in my discussion of the Perceval plot.

Now several things should be noted. It is a perfectly acceptable medieval literary custom and convention to use the analogue where a plot (on the level of *sens*) prefigures or post-figures another plot. In the *Second Shepherd's Play* the comic situation of the theft of the lamb and the mock birth prefigures and is an analogue to the birth of Christ, which is the subject of this nativity play. At first, we see a complete separation of style and matter; the first part is broad farce, the second is pure celebration and reverence. Yet the *sens* is the same and a wholeness of life has been gained. For the various extremes of life and of style are united in one great timeless act, the birth of Christ. The analogue is completely essential in this case. This principle, as we know, was not limited to the best of medieval drama, but can also be found in the best of all literature. It is more than a matter of contrast; it is a matter of doubling, doubling in such a way that the theme is expanded and viewpoint is broadened. I think this principle (one of the great principles of any vital art) is active in Chretien's last poem, and it explains the relationship between the Gawain and the Perceval plots.

The details of the Gawain plot may be grouped around four approximate sections, with an interruption between the second and the

third to allow for the beginning of the end of the Perceval section. The first concerns the episode at Tiebout of Tintaguel's, with the slap rendered to the younger sister and Gawain's avenging of the slap by becoming the little maiden's champion. The parallel is the avenging of Kai's slap by Perceval. The second involves the episode at Escavalon and ends on the note of the quest of the bleeding lance. The third is centered around the insolent maiden and involves the humiliation of the perfect knight, which is a parallel to the humiliation of Perceval. And the fourth episode presents the journey to the Castle of Ladies and the theme of the restoration (so important to the Perceval plot). It should be noted that this fourth part could be considered as belonging to the third part—there is a somewhat close relation here. Coming at the climax of this part of the poem, this incident may be said to be a parallel to the restoration of the Grail Castle. There is even a rich cripple with a silver crutch, whose wealth is emphasized by the boatman (Charon), who also calls Gawain's attention to this figure as he brings him into this otherworld where time has had its stop.

Now the Gawain plot is not static, and like the Perceval plot, it involves a progression, but a progression on its own level. Gawain is not rising from the natural to a new concept of chivalry (spiritualized chivalry which transcends the chivalric-religious tension and conflict). Rather he is rising only on his own level, which is the chivalric. Yet his progression is an analogue to the progression of Perceval; it parallels and doubles. Gawain avenges a slap and does feats of arms; Gawain remains courteous, discourses of love, so that the courtly values (tested in their extreme) transcend all enmity and place Gawain in almost another world (is not the tower an appropriate symbol here? the burghers must tear it down; they cannot enter it); Gawain suffers humiliation as he rides upon the squire's nag and is mocked by the insolent maiden; and Gawain enters a land of the dead and effects a restoration, which is the result of his perfections, for he is free from all vices and will be able to "restore to the ladies their honors and will give lords to damsels and make knights of the youths." The Gawain plot ends with the Perilous Ford incident and the gaining of "the renown of the world and the praise by your great prowess."

The action of the Perceval plot is similar—Perceval passes through stages involving the championship of a maiden, the doing of chivalrous deeds, the quest, the sinning (has Gawain sinned on the chivalric level? Guingambresil's charges suggest so), the humiliation, and the restoration. But involved here are three levels as suggested by the structural organization of the Perceval plot; in the Gawain plot there is only one level; all sinning, questing, humiliation, perfection, and restoration occurs on this level alone. Thus Chretien has given us an analogue,

a doubling which repeats and amplifies the first plot and which is vital to it. But he has done much more and one can observe that involved in the Gawain sections is no less than a complete testing of its one level—the chivalric—which I have suggested is the center of the Perceval plot, the examination of and tensions concerning the limitations of the chivalric level, which are transcended by a presentation of a spiritualized chivalry figured by the Good Friday scene, which presents a violent clash, and the hermit scene, which restores harmony. The Gawain section is an examination of the chivalric ideal by itself, without tensions, within its limitations, which are viewed when we see this plot in relationship to its analogue. Gawain is not merely perfect earthly knighthood, as some have maintained; he is a testing of courtesy and chivalry at its furthest limits—to the limits where it, in its perfection, effects a restoration. This disenchanting is a further development, it is complete idealization of chivalry—chivalry becomes more than a terrestrial chivalry on a mundane level—it is an ideal spiritual its own way, but with limitations as well as perfections. This Gawain plot is essential to Chretien's theme, which seems to be striving towards a concept of a harmonized knighthood, of a knighthood at one with nature, with a code, with the spirit.

In each of the four sections of the Gawain plot there is a presentation of an aspect of the chivalric code, and it is carried to a perfection. So that Gawain performs excellent feats of arms, carries courtesy and courtly manners to their perfection (even when placed in an alien world, or reality, as in the tower episode with the rabble), and becomes perfection himself in order that he may effect a restoration on the chivalric level. Gawain, the elect, can go no farther.

Finally it remains to put all these parts together and to see the poem as a totality (never completely possible because the poem remains unfinished). I have suggested that the Perceval plot breaks into three sections, each signifying a different level of knightly existence, and that the basic ideal of chivalry is what unifies these levels, appearing in all the sections in one way or another. The theme, seen through the ascent of Perceval, involves a testing and examination of the chivalric and gives us a presentation where a harmony is finally achieved when a religious idea, as Frappier believes,²⁵ becomes an essential element of the chivalric ethic. The failures and limitations of this ethic are shown by the parallel presentations of quests and restorations. The Gawain plot, which begins in the third section of the Perceval plot—after Perceval's quest has degenerated into a mere second level quest—the quest for adventure (appropriate at this point to present the chivalric in its fullest sense before the transcendence and harmonization),

25. Jean Frappier, "Le Graal et la chevalerie," *Romania*, LXXV (1954), 172.

is both an analogue on one level rather than three and an exploration to the fullest of this one level. The crowning point of each plot is a sort of resurrection—but only one involves a failure and religious symbolism, the other is merely in the realm of Arthurian magic. Yet each signifies the potentialities of an ethic—and its limitations. Gawain can go no further; Perceval has no need to go further.

I recognize that I have managed to avoid many *Conte del Graal* problems, especially the problem of allegory. I feel the Klenke-Holmes position may best be seen in the light of the Robertson-Bloomfield controversy. Bloomfield's position that one must make a distinction between theology and literature is sane. That the poem has a deeper meaning is possible, but that it has four levels of meaning is not necessarily so. The theme I have presented can hardly be called another level of meaning; there seems to be no real distinction between what is on the surface and what lies underneath. My main purpose has been to examine the structure and to suggest a possible artistic unity for Chretien's poem. I recognize that an endeavour such as this is limited by the pull of an Arthurian material and an unfinished poem, but I have found it necessary before proceeding to any other point to decide in my own mind whether the *Conte del Graal* satisfies at least one requirement of art—organic form. I believe it does.

RACINE'S NAMING OF "GREEK" CONFIDANTES AND HANDMAIDS

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WHY RACINE singled out certain names for the confidantes and handmaids of his "Greek" heroines puzzles the student of Racine who appreciates his usual exhaustive detail and who cannot be made to believe that he chose his names haphazardly.¹ The names of these minor

1. For interesting theories on the names of Racine's confidants see R. C. Knight, *Racine et la Grèce* (Paris, 1950), pp. 261, 281, 319-20, 359, who shows that some of Racine's names appeared in novels and plays before him and that some are authentically Greek but not closely tied to the Greek context of the individual plays in which they are used, and Georges May, *D'Ovide à Racine* (Paris, 1949), pp. 146-48 and *Tragédie cornélienne, tragédie racinienne* (Illinois, 1948), pp. 157-64, who discusses the general resonances of Racine's proper names. In connection with Cénone, the confidante of Phèdre, J. Pommier in "Comment Racine construisait Phèdre," in *Revue Théâtrale*, Aug.-Sept. 1946, p. 1950, argues his generally accepted theory that Racine chose this name after reading Ovid's *Heroides* V, the letter which immediately follows the one sent by Phaedra to Hippolytus. Jacques-Gabriel Cahen in "La Condition humaine des personnages de Racine" (published in a special number of *Culture* entitled *Racine* [Paris, 1939], p. 33) sees the possibility of a kind of echo or double in the confidants because their names rhyme with those of the principals; his interpretation of the nature of the confidants' role is convincing, and it might indeed be presumed that Racine selected his names for their efficacy in a desired rhyme scheme, especially in his non-Greek plays. In the Greek plays, however, only the following couplets would corroborate the theory that his exclusive concern was the facility with which he could use the name of a minor character in a couplet: Cléone-Hermione in *Andromaque* (III. iii. 850-51 and IV. iv. 1273-74) and Théramène-Trézène in *Phèdre* (I. i. 1-2). The pages on which these couplets may be found in *Œuvres de Racine*, ed. P. Mesnard (Paris, 1885), are respectively II, 86 and 108; III, 153 and 305. From now on all references to Racine are from the Mesnard edition.

For the corroboration of statements made in the text of this article and for the use of future students of this problem, the pertinent references to the confidantes' names which have been taken from books in Racine's library will be listed in an appendix. The titles of the books believed to have been in Racine's library have been selected from the studies of R. C. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-32 and 413-51, and of Paul Bonnefon, "La Bibliothèque de Racine" in *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* (1898) pp. 169-219. The various names have been checked in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884-1915), and Latinized spellings for the Greek names have been regularly used. The chapter, paragraph, and line numbers of the listed classical works are taken from the editions of *The Loeb Classical Library*; the editions of the works of commentators and geographers whom I mention are: Servius Grammaticus in *Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig, 1923); Eustathii, *Commentarii ad Homerum Odysseam* (Leipzig, 1825-26) and *Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem* (Leipzig, 1827-30); Stephani (Byzantii), *De Urbibus*, ed. Th. de Pinedo (Amsterdam, 1678); Claude B. Morisot, *Orbis martini* (Dijon, 1643). The references to Racine's names in such works as G. Boccaccio, *Genealogie Deorum*, Natale Conti, *Mythologie*, and Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum*, have not

figures, Olympe, Cléone, Céphise, Doris, Ismène, Ægine, Panope, and Enone, are a fair enough and interesting sample of his added "Greek" names. Even if they meant little to the spectators beyond mere identification or the musicality of a Greek name, they merit investigation on a literary level for any light they can bring to Racine's way of re-creating the Greco-Roman world in his tragedies. The meaning of his choice involves several subsidiary problems: 1) the investigation of his use of Greco-Roman and modern "sources," 2) the establishment of the context in which the names of his confidantes appear in his "sources," and 3) once the context is established, the demonstration of the aptness of his choice of names in particular tragedies.

I

Since Racine's range of reading and reference was extensive, any investigation of this problem of naming of confidantes involves the question of how and to what extent Racine used Greek or Roman or modern "sources." In order to avoid the results of a preconceived bias by claiming that Racine was more familiar with Roman literature than Greek or that he used Renaissance works rather than Greek or Roman ones, it has seemed advisable to seek the references to his confidantes' names in all three of these categories and to limit the search to the books believed to have been in his library. From what is known about Racine's method of work, it is likely that his use of material was eclectic and that he gave equal validity to varied kinds of authority for the facts he used.

From the novels of predecessors and from the plays of preceding dramatists Racine could have culled his names, which had appeared sporadically in works before him. For example, his names had appeared in so widely read and influential a work as D'Urfé's pastoral romance *L'Astrée* (1607-27), where an Olimpe is a shepherdess, a Céphise is a princess, Doris is a "nymphé," and Enone is, as in Greco-Roman myth, the nymph who loves Paris. R. C. Knight, *Racine et la Grèce*, pp. 261 and 281, has mentioned other novels where the name Olympe appears, and plays where the name Cléone is used. Still other names of Racine's confidantes appeared in plays of predecessors: Ægine is a shepherdess in Hardy's *Le Triomphe de l'amour* (1623); Ismène is a Neapolitan girl in Rotrou's tragi-comedy, *Célie* (1646). So far as this writer knows, *L'Astrée* as a possible "source" for Racine's names has not previously been noted; it seems permissible to suggest that contemporary drama-

been included in my appendix because most of the comments in Servius and Eustathius reappear therein.

I am greatly indebted to Professor John Lapp, of the University of California at Los Angeles, for suggestions and to a colleague, Prof. F. E. Cranz of the department of history at Connecticut College, for his translations from the Greek passages in Eustathius and in Suidas' *Lexicon* which are quoted in this article.

tists may even have used *L'Astrée* as a common source, finding for some reason these names appropriate for the naming of confidantes and minor characters in the pastoral plays, tragi-comedies, and tragedies.

A search for Racine's names in Greco-Roman literature is also valid, because, if he did use contemporary "sources," he nevertheless tried to be conscientious about his faithfulness to the Greco-Roman tradition, about stating what he borrowed from the ancients, and about grounding any of his innovations or creations on some controlling fact or statement which he found directly or indirectly in Greco-Roman literature. His long discussion in the preface of *Iphigénie* is a case in point, for here, however different his Eriphile might be from a Greek character, he points to the corroboration of a series of writers for the simple basic fact that there existed an Iphigenia, daughter of Helen and Theseus; he finds it necessary to establish the basis for his mention of Achilles' voyage to Lesbos, even if he must cite the authority of Euphorion of Chalcis as reported by Parthenius. This kind of care makes it seem unlikely that Racine would choose a name at random with no controlling link or association whatsoever with the Greco-Roman world.

Along with his contact with Greco-Roman writers, Racine had at his disposal in his library the works of scholiasts, commentators, geographers, and mythologists in which he could refer to varied interpretations and to a whole network of allusions to any single name he encountered in Pindar and Virgil. In his commentaries on ancient works he constantly refers not only to ancient mythologists and geographers but also to such a work as that of the twelfth-century commentator on Homer, Eustathius. The reference books and dictionaries of the Renaissance which he probably consulted list side by side quotations from the ancients which allude to place names and proper names of all kinds; they often list in the margins the works of antiquity from which their material is derived or which they are paraphrasing. Racine could in this way have refreshed his memory or sought additional information on any name which sparked his imagination. Variant spellings and etymologies, varied quotations where the names appear, and the frequency with which the names appear in several contexts in reference books must be considered for any associations they may have had in Racine's mind.

To establish the interplay of these various "sources" in Racine is a delicate problem, as it is with any Renaissance or seventeenth-century writer. One cannot dismiss the possibility that Racine chose the names of his characters from those used conventionally by preceding and contemporary writers. If so, his choice would either be random, determined purely by considerations of euphony, or influenced by some principle that should be revealed by examination of these contemporary writings in relation to his own. This writer at least has been unable to find any-

thing in the contemporary literary works that would suggest a coherent theory as to why Racine chose one name rather than another for his characters.

Accordingly it has seemed best to start from the fact that Racine was a learned man with knowledge of the ancient world and its interpreters. It is true that his learning was conditioned and limited by the methods of study, the understanding, and the sensibility of his period. Yet if his use of ancient "sources" was sometimes erroneous, it was still uniformly careful. Working from the assumption that Racine took his Greco-Roman "sources" and their interpreters seriously, and examining the contexts in which the names of his minor figures appear in the whole corpus of such material known to be available to Racine, it can be demonstrated that the choice of names was meaningful, and that it was based on a principle of selection which was not, to my knowledge, uniformly operative in the plays of predecessors and contemporaries.

II

Upon perusal of the books in Racine's library it is evident that the names he chose are names of places in ancient Greece and that with the exception of Olympe, the confidante of Jocaste in his first play, *La Thébaïde*, all of the names also identify nymphs. There is in ancient texts no feminine counterpart for the name Olympus which would normally become Olympe in French. Often used in seventeenth-century literary works to identify a woman, however, it is likely that the frequency with which the adjective *Olympias* in ancient texts accompanies mountain-nymphs, Muses and Graces explains the Renaissance use of Olympe to identify a woman. That the majority of these names should have in ancient texts not only a geographical reference but also a mythological one can hardly be a coincidence. In Homer, Pausanias, Pindar, Virgil, or Ovid the names locate nymph-inhabited towns, islands, and waters and refer to nymphs who at times played important roles in Greco-Roman mythology. Three of his names, Cléone, Ægine, and Ismène, identify nymph-daughters of the river Asopus; two names, Céphisè and Ismène are also names of rivers; Doris, a name sometimes used metonymically for the sea, is the nymph-daughter of Ocean and Tethys or is, like Panope, the nymph-daughter of Nereus; and Ægine and CEnone are the names of islands as well as of nymphs. The fact that his names have a dual reference argues an artistic control in Racine's choice which merits investigation.

That he should choose names which are both geographical and nymphian is not surprising, because this way of thinking is obvious in his commentaries on the ancients and is present in his first attempts at lyric poetry. In the studies of his confidantes' names, this conjunction

has not been adequately analyzed, given the care with which Racine uses detail. In his notes the physical and geographical reality of Greece grounded in mythology was, as he read Homer and Pindar, of prime importance to him. Following the pattern of an Eustathius, for instance, he locates the place names on maps of the ancient world and often mentions what the names of these places are in the Europe of his time; he then moves back to mythology and history by relating the legendary background and the genealogies of the eponymous heroes and heroines of the places. When he locates the island of the Phæaciens on the Ionian Sea between Epirus and Calabria, he identifies the people as descendants of Phéax, son of Neptune and of a nymph called Phéacie, daughter of the Asopus river. Most mythographers call this nymph Corcyra and, although to my knowledge no nymph bearing the name of Pheacia is mentioned in antiquity, Racine's preoccupation with the geographical-mythological reference is undeniable. In these same commentaries he locates the Cephissus river and refers to the island of Aegina, two names given to confidantes in his plays; he often notes that river-gods and rivers are identical and interchangeable. He observes, concerning Pindar's mention of Rhodes: "Il est ordinaire à Pindare de donner aux villes le nom des nymphes qui ont été appelées comme elles, et d'en faire des divinités" (See Mesnard VI, 31, 35-36, 40, 53, 109, 153). If Racine as a student of Homer and Pindar pays such attention to the physical reality of Greece and to the historical and mythological background of this physical Greece, there is reason to believe that when he was looking for the name of a minor female character for his "Greek" plays he would choose the name of a place which could be equated with the name of a nymph.

What Racine seems to have inherited from his time is not only this Eustathian way of seeing a physical and mythological Greece through Homer, but also a Renaissance convention in the poetic transmission of Greco-Roman myth especially with reference to nymphs. As a young poet Racine wrote in the tradition of the court poets of his time a poem in which the Seine river becomes nymph-inhabited. It is in "La Nympe de la Seine" (1660) that the Seine river itself is the "nymph" who symbolically represents France, and that other "nymphs" are to prepare flowers to welcome the bride of Louis XIV. Here he not only adopts a mythological-geographical equation but he also adopts the conventional use of "nymphs" as *demoiselles d'honneur* of brides and queens. In another poem, "La Renommée aux Muses" (1663), a "nymph qui vole/ et qui parle toujours" allegorically represents "la renommée," and in several of his letters to La Fontaine and Vitart, naiads and nymphs people the rivers of France which he describes (See Mesnard IV, 49-64, 73, and VI, 425 and 448). These Renaissance uses of Greco-Roman my-

thology must not invalidate the argument concerning the use and extent of Racine's knowledge of the Greco-Roman world; they should rather establish that the dual reference was a part of his way of thinking as a young poet which later, in his writing of "Greek" tragedies, through his increased contact with Greco-Roman literature and its interpreters, was reinforced and focused.

At this point it is interesting to note that this same tendency to link mythology and geography occurs in Racine's choice of the place, Nymphée, for the setting of the play *Mithridate* and of the name, Aricie, for an added character in *Phèdre*. The dual reference in these two names to places and nymphs has not been pointed out. Both names are involved with Racine's own creative *modus operandi* and must therefore be taken seriously, regardless of the relative value of a specific "source." How a series of associations led him to choose these names which have multiple connections with the artistic locations of his plays is what is essential.

In the non-Greek tragedy, *Mithridate* (1673), where the gracious heroine Monime however is Greek and where Racine interweaves a "Racinian" love story into the historical facts of the life of Mithridates, he deliberately substituted the seaport Nymphée, a place name which etymologically has direct connections with nymphs, for the city Panticapaeum. He did this in spite of the historians' claim that 1) the part of Mithridates' life dealt with in the tragedy occurred at Panticapaeum and that 2) the city of Nymphée having refused shelter to Mithridates when he sought refuge there became an enemy city (Mesnard III. p. 22, note 3). That Racine preferred Nymphée for the sake of euphony is easy to understand, and a city, Nymphaeum, was to be sure not far from Panticapaeum. But what is significant is that not only does *Nymphaeum* mean sanctuary or home of nymphs (Pliny III. xxiii. 145; Virgil *Aeneid* I. 168) and that *Nymphaea* is a water-lily born of a nymph which is associated by Pliny (XXV. xxxvii. 75) with jealousy and impotence, but also that in Racine's tragedy Nymphée is an enemy city in the sense that it is the scene of Mithridate's jealous and powerless love for a Greek maiden, a love which helps to bring on his death.

In the naming of the added character Aricie, the woman loved by Hippolyte in *Phèdre* (1677), the controlling fact essential to Racine was the reality of the existence of the young woman; in his preface to the tragedy Racine states that, according to Virgil, Hippolytus married an Aricia and that according to several authors she gave her name to a certain small city in Italy (Mesnard III. pp. 301-302). In Ovid and several times in Virgil the name Aricia appears within a distinct geographical and mythological context. Near the place, Aricia, in Latium (now called Ariccia or L'Ariccia) is a nymph-inhabited land dedicated

to Diana, whose image was taken there by Orestes in gratitude for her help in rescuing him from death at Tauris (Ovid *Met.* xv. 489). It was here that Hippolytus, once resuscitated by Diana and Apollo's son, was entrusted to the care of the nymph Egeria (Virgil *Aeneid.* VII. 774-77); and here, according to some readings of the *Aeneid* (VII. 761-62), Aricia, a nymph of the place, became the mother of Hippolytus' son Virbius. The sanctuary where Diana was worshipped was in a woodland which surrounded a lake; on account of the form of Hippolytus' death, horses were forbidden entry in this grove, called Diana's wood or at times "Arician" (Ovid *Fasti* III. 263, VI. 755-56; Statius *Silvae* III. i. 56).²

Racine's obvious interest in the connections between geography and nymphs confirms what the various "sources" available to him in his library provide concerning the dual reference in which the names of his confidantes appear. The way in which he seems to use the names Nymphée and Aricie in these later plays is a telling point in his artistry. The names conjure up through their "sources" not only the role of the gods and of nature in the lives of his tragic characters, but also close ties between the connotations of the names and his additions to the plots of his tragedies. The names of his confidantes might evoke ties of less importance, but just as close proportionately as those of Nymphée and Aricie.

III

In a general way, Racine's pattern of naming the confidantes with both a geographical and mythological reference reflects a desire to dot his plays with names of ancient Greek towns, islands, and waters other than those referred to directly in the poetry of his tragedies; the association of nymphs with places as well as with their subsidiary roles in the retinues of goddesses makes the mythological reference in their names appropriate identifying tags for women who serve the Greek queens and princesses in his tragedies. A single unambiguous reference would overemphasize the individuality of these minor characters whom it is important to keep subordinate to the heroines. On a particular

2. See G. Boccaccio, *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri* (Bari, 1951), II, 521-23, who refers to Theodotus' authority for the question of Hippolytus' marriage to Aricia.

Other allusions to Aricia, the place, appear in material concerning Diana and the Iphigenia sacrifice, allusions which Racine may have found while he was composing his *Iphigénie* (See Servius' commentary on Virgil *Aeneid* II. 116, VI. 136, 139, and VII. 761 in the G. Thilo and H. Hagen edition (Leipzig, 1923 I, 237-38, II, 30-31 and 192-93). For valuable studies of this name see R. C. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-57, Mesnard III, 301, and J. Pommier, *Aspects de Racine* (Paris, 1954), pp. 359-62, who traces Racine's source to Blaise de Vigenère's edition of Philostratus' *Imagines*, published in 1615, from whom Racine's contemporary Pradon claims to have derived the name Aricie for his play *Phèdre et Hippolyte*.

level, however, the context of the names in the "sources" should throw some light on the individual plays, insofar as the choice of the name of a confidante in each play should have a peculiarly appropriate meaning. The context out of which Racine drew the names should help us to understand why he placed certain names in one play rather than in another, or why he chose a name for the confidante of one heroine rather than for another. The dual reference pattern may not consistently provide an exhaustive explanation for a specific choice. In most cases it can be argued that it is helpful.

The principle of selection within the range of associations here imputed to Racine involves diverse interpretations of Racine as a creative artist and it is therefore advisable to begin by stating the assumption that the conflict of good and evil forces is an essential part of his conception of tragedy, and that in Racine's imagination "antagonistic polar forces play," as L. Spitzer pointed out in *Linguistics and Literary History* (Princeton, 1948, p. 90). Each confidante's name should then be tied to one or the other of these forces, though the way in which this tie is established will be seen to vary.

In his first play, *La Thébaine*, the name of Jocaste's confidante, Olympe, has, if it has any meaning at all, one plausible moralistic association within the geographical-mythological context. As the name of the mountain where the gods lived, its connotation as "all-shining," granted this etymology of the word presented by Eustathius and later by the scholiast, Servius, on Virgil's *Aeneid* (IV. 268), Olympe may have been meant by Racine to indicate the qualities of Jocaste whom the confidante serves. It is Jocaste who in his play works nobly and constructively for peace between the brothers, Étéocle and Polynece, and who cannot fathom why the sun lends its rays to shed light on the dark crimes of these "monstres."

Within the geographical and mythological context, the names of the confidantes Céphise and Cléone, who serve Andromaque and Hermione respectively in *Andromaque*, may be said to define psychological characteristics of the heroines and in effect to underline the good and evil forces which these heroines represent in the play. The Greco-Roman forms of the name Céphise (*Cephisus*, *Cephis*, and *Cephisia*) identify various rivers, lakes, and springs in different parts of Greece, and references to them recur again and again in Greco-Roman literature with connotations of beauty, purification, grace, and restoration. Racine himself in his commentaries on Pindar identifies the Cephissus river in Bœotia as the river flowing through Orchomenus "que l'on appelloit le séjour des Grâces, parce que ce fut là où on leur sacrifia la première fois" (Mesnard VI, 53, 55). The Cephissus in Phocis is described by Hesiod as pouring forth "beautifully flowing" water, and it was here that,

according to Ovid and others, Deucalion and Pyrrha purified themselves before going to Themis' shrine for aid on how their race might be restored. According to Pausanias it was across the Attic Cephissus at the altar of Zeus Meilichius that Theseus was purified after killing the brigand Sinis. The name Cléone, on the other hand, identifies the city, Cleone, in Argolis near Nemea where Hercules killed the Nemean lion; this name, which is traced by Pausanias and Eustathius to the name of the nymph-daughter of Asopus, was according to Eustathius also believed to have taken its name from *Leonai*, given the association of the place with the Nemean lion, which by pleonasm became *Kleonai*. It is significant, in view of Spitzer's theory on how the "monster" and "monster-slaying motif" in *Phèdre* are intertwined with forces of good and evil, that already in *Andromaque* the names of these two confidantes should have connotations which reinforce the constructive and destructive elements in the tragedy—elements represented by the gracious Andromaque and by the violent and fiery Hermione. The names Céphise and Cléone, then, contain in their mythological and geographical contexts, most likely known to Racine, meanings which define morally the heroines whom they serve.

Ægine in *Iphigénie* is the name of the handmaid who is the confidante of both Clytemnestre and her daughter, Iphigénie; the name Doris identifies the confidante of Eriphile, their friend and enemy. In the "sources" the name Aegina refers to an island which took its name from the nymph of the same name from whom Achilles was descended; R. C. Knight (*op. cit.*, p. 319), who has already pointed this out, suggests how unexpected it is, therefore, to find Ægine accompanying Clytemnestre in the tragedy. As the name of the island, however, Aegina is also connected in Pindar's *Olympian VIII* with the ideas of justice and hospitality; Racine himself mentions this in his commentaries on the ode and, paraphrasing Pindar, adds: "Ç'a été un arrêt des Dieux que ce pays fût environné de la mer, afin que ce fût le refuge et comme la colonne de tous les étrangers, de quelque pays qu'ils fussent. Poussent-ils jamais ne se lasser d'une si belle pratique" (Mesnard VI, 36). That this name should be given by Racine to the handmaid in whom the hospitable Iphigénie confides is pertinent enough; in the few words which Ægine utters in the tragedy, she denounces Eriphile as a "serpent inhumain" and a betrayer of Iphigénie's hospitality:

Ah! savez-vous le crime, et qui vous a trahie,
Madame? Savez-vous quel serpent inhumain
Iphigénie avoit retiré dans son sein? (V. iv. 1674-76)

The legendary ethical attributes of the island, protected by Themis and by Jupiter the just and hospitable, explain the placing of its name in

a tragedy where hospitality and justice are major themes, where hospitality and love are betrayed by a loved foreigner who becomes an enemy. And this enemy, Eriphile, who returns envy and destruction for protection and hospitality, has a confidante called Doris. The name Doris can be illuminated by use of the geographical-mythological pattern since it identifies a nereid often in the retinue of Achilles' mother, Thetis, and since the name of this nereid qualified by *amara* in Virgil's *Eclogues* (X. 5) was, according to Servius, used metonymically for the sea. In a play where calm seas are an obstacle to the departure of the Greeks against Troy, the use of the name Doris is apt enough in a general way. The name has, however, another connotation which is even more relevant, in that it applies specifically to the confidante who serves the evil stranger, Eriphile. The word Doris along with *Doto* was often, as in Eustathius, interpreted as meaning "gift," and so interpreted, the name can define Eriphile, Doris' mistress.³ Given Racine's usual adept use of irony it is tempting to suggest that he enjoyed the play on the words *amara*, *Doris*, and *Doto* and in his tragedy gave this nymph's name to the confidante of Eriphile, who herself is in effect a gift from Achille to Iphigénie and becomes eventually the offering in the sacrifice to the gods; as both enemy and gift she saves the life of the hospitable Iphigénie and makes the sea navigable for the Greek ships which sail against Troy. In other words Doris defines metaphorically the dramatic and ironic role of Eriphile. Whereas the name *Ægine* describes the moral qualities of Iphigénie through a dual geographical and mythological reference Racine's choice of the name Doris becomes clear principally within the mythological context. Both names reveal how Racine's ironic and sophisticated use of a literary device accentuates the interplay of good and evil forces in his tragedy.

In *Phèdre* three names have, through their mythological-geographical references, varying degrees of resonance with respect to the relative nature and importance of the roles of the women whom they identify: the name Panope which Racine gave to one of *Phèdre*'s handmaidens has only general associations with the mythological and topographical background of the play. *Ismène*, the confidante of *Aricie*, seems to have been so named with reference to ideas of knowledge, purity, and restoration,

3. In several direct and indirect mythological associations, most likely known to Racine, his heroine Eriphile, as a young captive from Lesbos, and other spellings or derivations of her name (Eriphyle and Eris) are related to the idea of gift: in the *Iliad* IX. 260-71 and in Philostratus' *Imagines* II. 2, among other gifts which Agamemnon offers to Achilles as reward for his exploits, are Briseis and seven maidens from Lesbos; Eriphyle, the treacherous wife of Amphiaras, in return for a gift sent her husband to war and to his death (*Odyssey* XI. 326 and Apollodorus III. vi. 2); Eris, the goddess of strife, angry that she had not been invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the parents of Achilles, hurled the gift legendarily associated with the cause of the Trojan War (Lucian, *Dial. of the Sea-Gods* V, Hyginus *Fabula* XCII).

which are implicit in the mythological background of the name and which coincide with moral values and the light imagery in the play; the name, C  none, the confidante of Ph  dre, seems to be closely knit with the ironic ambiguity of the simultaneous presence of good and evil in the dramatic role of the confidante as well as of her mistress.

The legendary fact that the nymph, Panopeis, was the daughter of the nymph Aegle, for whom Theseus abandoned Ariadne, may have induced Racine to choose the name for a handmaid in this tragedy, where he uses to great advantage Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne. Panope, daughter of Thespius, by whom Hercules had a daughter, can have been in Racine's mind only by the remote possibility that the analogy between the lives of Hercules and Theseus, both killers of monsters and lovers of women, seemed important to him; the remote possibility can only be based on the fact that Hercules is mentioned several times in *Ph  dre* (I. i. 122; II. i. 454; III. v. 943) and that each time comparisons and contrasts are made between Hercules and Theseus or Hippolytus. However, Eustathius states that Panope the nereid was so called because her name describes a quality of the sea and in particular because the meaning of her name points to water's transparency to sight. Other than the relation of the name to the sea's role in the action of the play, this latter meaning of the name coincides with the fact that in the tragedy Panope merely reports what is apparent and visible on the surface: to Theseus what she has seen and to Ph  dre what she has heard.⁴

Ismene was in the blurred tradition of legend a river-nymph, an eponymous heroine, or the daughter of Oedipus, but her name was in any event a feminine form of Ismenus, the river-god and son of Apollo, and identifies a Theban heroine connected with a sanctuary sacred to Apollo. That a settlement, a hill, and a sanctuary were dedicated to the cult of the Ismenian Apollo in honor of whom a strong youth of noble family was chosen Laurel-bearer for a year is a mythological association, which situates the name on the side of the forces of Hippolyte in Racine's tragedy and indirectly therefore also on the side of Aricie, Ism  ne's

4. R. C. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 359, suggests an etymology of the name Panope, which he connects with the role of Panope as reporter of the rumor of Th  s  e's death.

In addition to Mr. Knight's valuable suggestions on the same page concerning the name of Hippolyte's confidant, Th  ram  ne, in *Ph  dre*, the following references to Thera, Theramnae, or Therapnae reveal connotations within the geographical and mythological context which merit further investigation: *Thera*, mother-city of Cyrene, described by Callimachus as "mother of my fatherland, famed for its horses," in Pindar *Pythian* IV. 20, V. 75 and Pausanias III. i. 7, 8 and IV. iii. 4; *Theramnae* and *Therapnae*, cities of Laconia or Crete and associated with Diana, Apollo, or Castor and Pollux in Statius *Thebaid* III. 422, Ovid *Heroides* XVI, Stephanus of Byzantium, p. 303, and Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium Historicum ac Poeticum* (Leyden, 1581), s.v. The very spelling which Racine uses appears in C. Morisot, *Orbis maritimi*, I. 268: "Ante Atticam, Insula Thera, antea Calliste, & Theramene, in hac civitates duas Lacedaemonij condiderunt, Eleusin, & Oeam."

mistress, whom Hippolyte loves. It will be remembered that Apollo, the archer-god and god of light, was the twin of Diana, protectress of Hippolytus, and that in the Hippolytus-Virbius legend it was Apollo's son, Aesculapius, who helped Diana to restore Hippolytus to a life in Aricia where Diana's sanctuary was situated. The names of mistress and confidante, Aricie and Ismène respectively, are therefore both connected mythologically and geographically with the sanctuaries of Diana and Apollo in Racine's "sources" and in his tragedy insofar as they are connected with the life of Hippolyte. Ismène as the river-nymph and mother of Argus the "All-seeing" evokes a connection with the motif of sight in *Phèdre*, and the entire network of associations reinforces the light imagery in the tragedy, where *Phèdre* shamefully hides from the light in her vain struggle against her "flamme noire."

With reference to *Cenone* the name within the mythological-geographical pattern reflects the intertwining of good and evil in her own role and in that of *Phèdre* herself. In the Greco-Roman tradition the name identifies the fountain-nymph who was the daughter of the river Cebren and who was loved by Paris and later abandoned by him because of his love for Helen of Troy. It was also believed to be, in Strabo and later in Eustathius and others, the same name as that of the two Attic demes, Oenoe. In several ancient works the name, Oenone, identifies the island later called Aegina. A contemporary of Racine, the geographer Claude B. Morisot, declares in his *Orbis maritimi* (I, 270) that this island had been named after the nymph loved by Paris: "Ægina ambitu mill. xxiv. olim CEnone, de nomine nymphæ Paridis amāsia. . . ." Since the Greco-Roman "sources" do not to my knowledge mention how the island got its name, Oenone, it seems that the seventeenth-century geographer took the mythological-geographical correspondence for granted and made the well-known nymph its eponymous heroine. Whether Racine also believed, as did this geographer, that the island had at one time taken its name from the nymph loved by Paris is not verifiable, but he did follow the same general pattern in his commentaries on the ancients. Moreover the associations of this name with a Greek proverb which has a geographical grounding fit so closely the dramatic role of *Phèdre*'s confidante that Racine seems to have chosen deliberately the name of a nymph which was also considered the name of an island or of an Attic deme. His choice must have come in part from his reading of Strabo who, in what is believed to be a spurious passage, quotes a proverb usually applied only to one of the demes, "To Oenonê—the torrent." In Suidas' *Lexicon*, the proverb rightly refers to the inhabitants of Oenoe, but its meaning applies to *Cenone*'s role in Racine's play:

Oinaioi (οἶναῖοι) the mountain-stream. Of those who are summoned for help

but do harm. For when the Oinaioi diverted the mountain-stream, a great deal of water rushed down and deluged all.

Oinoe (οἶνοη) the mountain-stream. When a person does something to himself. For Oinoe is a deme of Attica. They turned aside the mountain-stream flowing above them into their territory. The mountain-stream became very large and ruined their farms and tore down their houses (p. 621 of Part IV ed. Ada Adler, Leipzig, 1935).

In Racine's tragedy *Cenone*, the nurse-confidante of Phèdre, brings misfortune on herself, does indeed do harm while acting with good intent, and thus reflects her own and her mistress' ambiguous relation to constructive and destructive forces. It is pertinent to note also, given the form of self-destruction implicit in the proverb, that *Cenone* should in the play not only destroy herself but do so by plunging into the sea. The name, *Oenone*, transmitted though it was to Racine's world with signs of inaccuracy and error, resounds with the echoes of the myths connected with places in the Greco-Roman world; it suggests upon being traced in Racine's "sources" that a Greco-Roman way of thinking, combined with seventeenth-century learning and perception, was used to fullest advantage in *Phèdre*.

Whether his "sources" be Greek or Roman or modern, they all lead to a network of associative possibilities in the search for the ways of Racine's creative mind, even in the naming of peripheral characters such as the confidantes in his tragedies. All of these possibilities, which increase from *La Thébaïde* to *Phèdre*, sum up the means at the disposal of a learned man of the seventeenth century who was not necessarily the Hellenist or Roman scholar in the scientifically accurate sense of to-day, of a poet who was adept at detailed literary device, of a writer of tragedies who could fuse learned and literary detail with the overall tragic conflicts of men with nature, with the gods, and with themselves. The dual references in his chosen names provide clues which should illuminate the wider problems both of Racine's moralistic slant in his tragedies and of his conception of the dramatic role of the confidante.

APPENDIX

A Listing of "Sources" for the Names

OLYMPPE, confidante of Jocaste, in *La Thébaïde* (1664)

Olympias, epithet for mountain-nymphs, goddesses, Muses, and Graces: Homer *Iliad* II. 491; Hesiod *Theogony* 25, 52, 966, 1022; Sophocles *Ajax* 882; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* II. 492.

Olympias, a Theban lady: Pliny XX. lxxxiv. 226.

Olympus, the name of several mountains and four peaks of Mt. Ida: Strabo VIII. iii. 31; X. iii. 14; a mountain in Macedonia or in Thessaly: Pliny IV. viii. 30; Pausanias VI. v. 5; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* I. 18 (Leipzig I. 24; Rome 27): "Olympos in the poet Homer is the highest mountain in Macedonia or, according to Herodotus, in Thessaly. It is the dwelling place of the gods according to the license of the myth, which intends to give to the gods, as having human passions, a special place for a human way of life. Hence the gods are called Olympians. Allegorically, Olympos refers to the heavens, as it were *hololampōs* [all-shining]."

CEPHISE, confidante of Andromaque, in *Andromaque* (1667)

Cephis, nymph-daughter of the river Cephissus: Pindar *Pythian* XII. 27.

Cephis, *Cephisso*, a Muse, one of the three daughters of Apollo: Eumelus of Corinth according to Tzetzes on Hesiod (ed. Gaisford p. 23).

Cephis, *Cephis*, lake or pond in Boeotia: Homer *Iliad* V. 709; Strabo IX. ii. 20 and 27; Pausanias IX. xiii. 3, xxxiv. 5, and xxxviii. 6-7.

Cephis, spring in Attica: Pliny IV. vii. 24.

Cephis, *Cephis*, river-god, son of Ocean and Tethys, and name of several rivers: Homer *Iliad* II. 522; Hesiod *Catalogues of Women and Eoiae* 26; Pindar *Olympian* XIV. 1 and *Pythian* IV. 46; Euripides *Medea* 834; Strabo IX. i. 24, ii. 18-19, and iii. 16; Pliny IV. iii. 8, vii. 27; Pausanias I. xxxvii. 3 and 4, II. xv. 5, IX. xxiv. 1 and X. xxxiii. 1-12; Ovid *Met.* I. 369, III. 19 and 343, VIII. 438; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* II. 523 (Leipzig I. 222; Rome 275): "There is a city called Lilaia, in Phocis, with the same name as the Lilaia of the Kephissos; it lies near Parnassos. And even if from *to long* comes *to desire*, one cannot prove positively the meaning which is not historical. The Kephissos which has here glided into the Homeric story, flows about this Lilaia, or rather has its springs somewhere thereabout, as the poet immediately makes clear, and Hesiod agrees, who, says of the Kephissos 'which arises from Lilaia and pours forth beautifully flowing water.' The geographer further says that the Kephissos takes its start from the Phocian city of Lilaia and that it flows into the Kopais. There is also another Kephissos, flowing

through Phocis, they say, emptying into the Corinthian gulf; and there is an Attic Kephissos and one in Salamis and an Argive and a Sicyonian one. And there is a marsh, Kephissis, of Boeotia...."

CLEONE, confidante of Hermione, in *Andromaque* (1667)

Cleone, the nymph-daughter of the river Asopus: Pausanias II. xv. 1; Diodorus Siculus IV. 72. 1.

Cleone, *Cleonae*, city in Argolis near Nemea: Homer *Iliad* II. 570; Pindar *Olympian* X. 30 and *Nemean* IV. 17 and X. 42; Strabo VIII. vi. 19; Pausanias II. xv. 1; Ovid *Met.* VI. 417; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* II. 570 (Leipzig I. 235; Rome 290): "Kleonai they say is a town on the road from Argos to Corinth. It is on a mound with houses round-about and well-walled. It is twenty stades distant from Argos and eighty from Corinth. Here is the district of Nemea between Kleonai and Phlius, and the grove in which the Nemean games are celebrated. Kleonai is so called from Kleone the daughter of Asopus, who was the son of Ocean and Metope, of whom [one can read] in Pindar; according to others, however, from the Nemean lion, whom Heracles slew, as it were Leonai and by pleonasm, Kleonai. On the other hand, the island Kleone, which is near the songed Kerne, is always in the singular and spelled with two nu's. Herodotus also knows of a city Kleonai within Athos."

ÆGINE, Clytemnestre's handmaid, in *Iphigénie* (1674)

Aegina, river-nymph, daughter of the river Asopus, carried off by Zeus to the island called Oenone or Oenopia where she gave birth to Aeacus, ancestor of Achilles and one of the three judges of Tartarus; Pindar *Olympian* IX. 70 and *Nemean* IV. 22, VII. 50, VIII. 6; Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 697; Herodotus V. 80; Apollodorus *The Library* III. xii. 6; Pausanias II. v. 1 and 2; Diodorus Siculus IV. 72. 1; Ovid *Met.* VII. 474, 615-16, and XIII. 25.

Aegina, island in the Aegean sea across from Epidauria: Homer *Iliad* II. 562; Pindar *Olympian* VIII. 20; Strabo VIII. vi. 4, 16; Pliny IV. xii. 57; Pausanias II. xxix. 2-xxx. 5; Ovid *Met.* VII. 474; Stephanus of Byzantium pp. 35-36; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* II. 562 (Leipzig I. 233; Rome 288): "Aegina, whose penultimate syllable is here lengthened for the sake of meter, was deemed worthy of sufficient discussion in the *Periegetes*. It lies near

Epidaurus before Attica. It has its name from Aigine the daughter of Asopus, who was formerly called Onōne. And they say there was a place in Epidauria which was called Aigina. Some in order to distinguish the two places with the same name write in Homer in place of 'who held Aigina' 'and the island Aigina,' so that they may separate the mainland Aigina from the island. The island was once renowned."

DORIS, confidante of Eriphile, in *Iphigénie* (1674)

Doris, the daughter of Ocean and Tethys, wife of Nereus and mother of nereids: Hesiod *Theogony* 241 and 350; Apollodorus *The Library* I. ii. 2, 7; Virgil *Eclogues* X. 5; Ovid *Met.* II. 269 and XIII. 742; Servius on Virgil *Eclogues* X. 5: "DORIS AMARA mater nympharum est, quam pro mari posuit: vel 'Doris' Oceani filia, coniunx Nerei."

Doris, the daughter of Nereus and Doris: Homer *Iliad* XVIII. 45 and Hesiod *Theogony* 250; Eustathius on *Iliad* XVIII. 42 (Leipzig IV. 52; Rome 1130): "Dōtō and also Dōris are so called because of the good gifts of all sorts of the sea."

Doris, region in Greece between mount Oeta and mount Parnassus: Pliny IV. vii. 28; Pausanias X. viii. 4 and xxxvii. 2.

PANOPE, Phèdre's handmaid, in *Phèdre* (1677)

Panope, *Panopea*, a nereid, daughter of Nereus: Homer *Iliad* XVIII. 45; Hesiod *Theogony* 250; Apollodorus *The Library* I. ii. 7; Virgil *Aeneid* V. 240 and 825; Eustathius on *Iliad* XVIII. 42: "And Panope is moreover so called from the smoothness of the water's surface and its ... transparency to sight, as the poet somewhere makes clear in a comparison."

Panope, daughter of Thespius, by whom Hercules had a daughter: Apollodorus *The Library* II. vii. 8.

Panopeis, daughter of Panopeus or Aegle, beloved of Theseus: Hesiod fragment 105 according to Plutarch *Theseus* 20.

Panope, *Panopeus*, city in Phocis: Homer *Iliad* II. 520, XVII. 307, *Odyssey* XI. 581; Ovid *Met.* III. 19.

ISMENE, confidante of Aricie, in *Phèdre* (1677)

Ismene, a river-nymph, daughter of the river Asopus and either the mother of Argus the All-seeing, guardian of Io, or the mother of Iasus and grandmother of Io: Apollodorus, *The Library* II. i. 3.

- Ismene*, Theban heroine who gave her name to hill, town, and sanctuary sacred to Apollo: Pausanias IX. ix. 2, x. 2-6; Pherekydes on Euripides *Phoenician Maidens* 53; Stephanus of Byzantium p. 336.
- Ismene*, daughter of Oedipus: Sophocles *Antigone*.
- Ismenis*, Theban woman: Ovid *Met.* III. 169, 733 and IV. 31, 562.
- Ismenus*, river-god, son of Ocean and Tethys or of Apollo and Melia, and the Boeotian river: Pindar *Nemean* IX. 22, XI. 36; Euripides *The Bacchanals* 5, *The Phoenician Maidens* 827, and *Suppliants* 383; Pliny IV. vii. 25; Ovid *Met.* II. 244.

CENONE, confidante of Phèdre, in *Phèdre* (1677)

- Oenone*, nymph-daughter of the river Cebren, wife of Paris: Apollodorus *The Library* III. xii. 6; Ovid *Heroides* V. island later called Aegina: Pindar *Nemean* IV. 46, V. 16, and VIII. 7; Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 699; Apollodorus *The Library* III. xii. 6; Strabo VIII. vi. 16; Pausanias II. v. 2 and xxix. 2; Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* II. 562 (Leipzig I. 233; Rome 288): "It [the island] has its name from Aigine the daughter of Asopus, who was formerly called Onōne . . . Aigina, they say, was once called Oinōne, with the same name as the two Attic demes."

APOLLINAIRE'S "LA MAISON DES MORTS"

By Sally Nesbit Lawall

NEW HAVEN

A *Conte* published in *Le Soleil* for Saturday, August 31, 1907, and entitled "L'Obituaire," is the first version of a poem most Apollinaire readers know under the synonymous title "La Maison des morts." Guillaume Apollinaire took up the *conte* at several points between 1907 and its publication in the 1913 edition of *Alcools*, and gradually imposed upon the same work, first written in prose, the new form of a *vers libre* poem. Such an *ex post facto* transformation poses several problems of literary expression. Since the only change in the "Maison des morts" is the technical one of versification, we are able to examine Apollinaire's craft of verse almost *per se*. On the other hand, the fact that this versification can be studied as an added element indicates that, as such, it may remain an extra and jarring development. There is no particular reason to suppose that a work conceived and written in prose should be improved by being put into verse, and if "prose poem" is a genuine one it is always possible that an attempt to transpose it will prove as destructive as the reduction into prose of a verse poem. "L'Obituaire" is already a coherent composition in prose, containing an internal patterning appropriate to the style of prose rather than to that of verse; in consequence, its transposition into verse seems a gratuitous development.

There are two formal elements at work in the new "Maison des morts": the structure of the original prose, and a new element of verse form superimposed. The prose was patterned in a series of corresponding scenes and motifs: a cemetery scene at the beginning and end, an excursion going out and coming back in the second and next-to-last scenes, and two complementary ring scenes in the center of the *conte*. This structuring by events or groups of events is the main organizational factor in the prose version, as the paragraphs are certainly subordinated and have no intrinsic interest in themselves. In both the prose and verse versions there remains this same pattern of balances and rhythms, as an over-all, quasi-architectural structure of blocks and groups of composition, by which Apollinaire organizes his reader's response and guides the emphases he will place upon separate elements.

A new factor, however, arises when the medium of expression becomes *vers libre* instead of prose paragraphs. "L'Obituaire"'s transposition into verse breaks up the original paragraphs so as to stress the value of each phrase; at times, of each word. Apollinaire's *vers libre*

separates the composition into smaller obvious parts, and projects the reader's consciousness now onto the plane of individual word patterns. The separate verses take on an emphasis and rhythm of their own, and the reader's eye travels no longer in the paragraphs of the prose version but in smaller units. Such a separation into smaller units enables Apollinaire to govern and to gradate the reader's response at an even closer range. Examination will show that the transposition into verse proceeds towards clarification by setting off individual phrases and motifs. However, unless clarity be taken as an esthetic end in itself, and verse as somehow always preferable to prose, the value of the second version over the first cannot impose itself *per se*. A close reading will show that certain passages show marked differences between the prose and the verse versions, and the rather broad over-all structure of the early prose composition does not always lend itself to the articulated and gradual reading demanded by this *vers libre*.

The unique position of the "Maison des morts" in the work of Apollinaire makes it surprising that the poem has received so little critical attention. It is, first of all, unusual as an openly metaphysical piece in the work of a poet usually associated with short love lyrics, autobiographical descriptions, or surrealist experiments. In the poem itself, there is a surprising contrast between apparent and actual form: Apollinaire adapts themes of the German *Schauerballade* for his setting and plot, but the burden of the poem seems rather to consist in his shock and subsequent meditation after coming upon a group of bodies awaiting burial. An unusually strong use of verbal contrast and of paradox springs from this same feeling of shock which the poet feels before the corpses' grotesque appearance of life in death. Even the most obviously striking element, the development from prose into verse, has only lately been recorded in detail. The 1956 Pléiade edition of Apollinaire's *Œuvres poétiques* collated the various versified versions in the July-September 1909 volume of *Vers et Prose* and Lanson's *Anthologie des poètes nouveaux* of 1913, where the poem was reprinted with "L'Emigrant de Landor Road" and "Le Brasier,"¹ but neither reprints nor examines in detail the original *conte*. Apollinaire made the final changes for its appearance in the 1913 edition of *Alcools*. What seems to emerge from the various dates is the development of a poem written first in prose, then in punctuated *vers libre*, and finally (with a few minor changes in wording and line spacing) in unpunctuated *vers libre*.

Apart from the interest in Apollinaire's reworking into verse an already written work, and any light which this development may throw upon the poet's conception of his *vers libre*, the poem calls for analysis on the basis of an unusual and thoroughly organized structure. The emo-

1. Apollinaire, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Marcel Adéma et Michel Décaudin (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, 1956), pp. 1050-51.

tional or dramatic unity which usually organizes the French poet's compositions—an organization which may seem at times rather tenuous—is overshadowed by the structure of a metaphysical drama in which the elements are almost mathematically assigned and counterbalanced. And yet, the poem seems to have been written during a period centering around a "vigorous neo-Symbolist movement" in which Apollinaire attempted to "mount a new level of occult or metaphysical poetry," and in which his principal works "contain clusters of vivid but strange, irrational images which lack location and logical sequence."² "La Maison des morts" undeniably fits into this group of metaphysical poems, but the inspiration stems also from a 1902 visit to a cemetery in Munich. Critical references to this poem are usually content to suggest that Apollinaire's intention was to write a poem paralleling the structure of the German macabre ballads. The parallel certainly exists, but it remains to be shown how the German *Schauerballade* inspiration blends with the French poet's far-from-archaic technique, and how some of Apollinaire's most lyrical writing coexists with evident attempts to create a metaphysical drama.

The poem has not been completely neglected in criticism to date, but most of the remarks related to it are to be found as passing comment in works whose emphasis lies elsewhere. Thus, M. Adéma informs us in his biography only that the poem is the result of a visit to a Munich cemetery in 1902, and was later transposed into verse.³ Professor Breunig situates it in his grouping of Rhine-inspired poems, and the publication date would associate it also with a later grouping of metaphysical poems in which the critic finds that

Apollinaire's major concern seems to be the relationship of himself, of his "I," to the rest of the universe and the effort to reach a state of ubiquity in time and space.⁴

The first volume of Mme Durry's analysis of *Alcools* does not treat of "La Maison des morts" to any great extent, although such an analysis may be forthcoming.⁵ Ernst Wolf designates it as an Apollinarian *Totentanz*, and M. Orecchioni is pleased to find in it, "malgré sa brièveté et son étrange situation," an Apollinarian *art poétique* of the *Volkslied*. The latter critic further analyzes the poem as a French *Schauerballade* demonstrating that memory can triumph over the separation of the grave.⁶

2. LeRoy C. Breunig, "The Chronology of Apollinaire's *Alcools*," *PMLA*, LXVII (December 1952), 921.

3. Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire le mal-aimé*, (Paris, 1952), pp. 54-55.

4. Breunig, *op. cit.*, pp. 912, 921.

5. See Marie-Jeanne Durry, *Guillaume Apollinaire Alcools* (Paris, 1956), p. 36.

6. Pierre Orecchioni, *Le Thème du Rhin dans l'inspiration de Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris, 1956), pp. 53, 86.

Certainly the influence of German folksong on Apollinaire is not to be underestimated; Ernst Wolf analyzes it most thoroughly,⁷ but the particular themes used in the "Maison des morts" are familiar and easily recognizable. The author's entrance into the cemetery, the reawakening of the dead and their subsequent promenade and dance, the role of music (34, 37, 39, 53-55, 63, 90-93)⁸ and of *Zerbrochene Ringlein* (50, 57, 61), and the overall insistence on the miraculous but transitory resurrection—all show that Apollinaire intended to create a folklore aura for his tale. Such an aura is not at all unusual; all the "Rhénanes," as well as several other pieces, partake of it. "L'Obituaire" was, however, written first in prose, and the hint must be taken that this is neither an adaptation like "La Loreley," nor merely an attempt to create a French *Schauerballade*, but an experimental work in which Apollinaire's interest in forms led to another type of expression.

The structure of the *conte* is marked by an extreme symmetry, a balancing-off of one element against another with almost geometrical precision; the expression is governed by a series of antitheses both verbal and dramatic and founded on a sentiment of shock stated at the beginning and pervading the entire poem. The grotesque, near-living appearance of the dead awaiting burial in the cemetery shocks Apollinaire, and when the dead come to life his poem still recalls the paradoxical situation at almost every instant.⁹ The 1913 title for the work suggests itself the grotesqueries of the first strophe: "La Maison des morts" is a cemetery morgue, a "home" (cf. line 45 of the final poem)¹⁰ for the dead, but it is also a "maison" in the "boutique" sense:

A l'intérieur de ses vitrines pareilles à celles des boutiques de modes, au lieu de sourire debout, les mannequins grimaçaient pour l'éternité. (2-4)

Apollinaire enters the Munich cemetery "pour la première fois et par hasard" (6) and the first thing that he sees is the glass-walled morgue. At the end of the excursion he remains "seul avec ces morts" (98), and in the thirteen following lines, which terminate the *conte*, he comments upon his adventure. Throughout the tale, the poet has been a passive onlooker, with a passivity which serves to set off the separate dramatic structure of the excursion itself. His arrival is fortuitous, and since an

7. Ernst M. Wolf, *Guillaume Apollinaire und das Rheinland* (Bonn, dissertation 1937); pp. 59-65 are related to this poem, and pp. 161-63 list German books found in Apollinaire's library. At least seven are collections of German folk tales or songs.

8. Line references are to the prose poem printed at the end of this article, unless otherwise indicated.

9. Cf. lines 6-8, 17-19, 23-24, 26, 30-31, 38, 46-49, 66-68, etc.

10. Line references to the versified poem are from the N. R. F. edition of *Alcools*, copyright Gallimard, 1920.

"ange en diamant brisa toutes les vitrines" (13)¹¹ he has nothing to do with the corpses' awakening. It is the latter who take the initiative: qui embellissaient à vue d'œil et me regardaient maintenant avec tant de cordialité, tant de tendresse même, que les prenant en amitié tout à coup, je les invitai à une promenade. . . . (21-24)

The poet's invitation is characterized as a reaction to their "cordialité . . . tendresse même," and serves the mechanical function of leading into the promenade. Except at the beginning and end of the poem, in which he is left alone to meditate, he is definitively relegated to the background position of onlooker: cf. "je les dénombrai" (20) and "A l'avant du bateau que je gouvernais" (69). His invitation also serves to point up a difference between this poem and the typical *Schauerballade*: it seems that he must reassure the dead people that they are free to leave, that "oui, tous vos péchés sont absous" (26). This reference to the Resurrection Day, already suggested by the "ange en diamant," introduces a solemn note which is foreign to the melodramatic and repeatable Hallowe'en night of the true *Schauerballade*, and gives an absolute and unique sense to this particular outing.

The "promenade" forms the body of the poem, and if one proceeds by taking the beginning and the end of the poem at once and working towards the middle, it becomes evident how balanced the structure really is. The corpses come back to life (9-12) and they return to death (98-101); they meet living people in one scene (28-29) and they take leave of them in another (94-97); the group of dead and living is described as united both going out (32-40) and coming back (86-89); in the very middle there are two scenes which center around a symbolic ring (first broken, then intact)—love scenes between a dead woman and a living man (41-62) and between a dead man and a living woman (69-85). A short descriptive interpolation divides each ring scene, so that an extremely conscious and almost rigid schematization becomes evident throughout the poem.

Governing the poem inside the *schema* is a strong sense of paradox, of antithesis, and of apocalypse perhaps, in the sense in which Apollinaire often creates impossible, supernatural situations to evoke a "willing suspension of disbelief," and thus to insure a particular psychological or metaphysical reaction.¹² The series of antitheses which pervades the "Maison des morts" is based upon the original feeling of shock at seeing

toute cette bourgeoisie exposée et vêtue le mieux possible en attendant la sépulture. (7-8)

The counterposition of the dead and the living remains the constant

11. A typical Apollinarian display of knowledge—mineralogical in this case.

12. Such is the Apollinaire of "Zone" and of *Calligrammes*.

background against which the varying ironic developments will emerge, and out of which the communication, if there seems to be one, will arise.

The first element of ironic contrast in the poem comes out from the beginning, when Apollinaire describes the mannequin aspect of the corpses. These dead are not to receive the nocturnal burial of a Molière, nor the pauper's funeral of a Mozart; they are grouped together in a solid, respectable, well-dressed orthodoxy which the poet is quick to emphasize: "toute cette bourgeoisie..." An ironic contrast is implied between the absolutely normal and "alive," if immobile appearance of the corpses, and their actual isolation in death. The contrast is not futile, for its value will extend beyond a merely arresting image. When it comes time for the revived dead to meet their living friends and relatives, the poet is careful to emphasize the similarity of the two groups:

Tous étaient si gais, si charmants, si bien portants que bien malin qui aurait pu distinguer les morts des vivants. (30-31)

In the central two scenes, the "ring scenes" between the two couples, it will be the behavior, the attitude only, that will distinguish the living from the dead; one may therefore assume that the experience of death, which Apollinaire refers to as "purifying" in the last lines of the poem, will be given some sort of evaluation in these scenes. Since they are all "bourgeois" to start with, only the experience of death could differentiate them for the purposes of this poem. However, the comparison works both ways. The bourgeoisie that was "exposée et vêtue le mieux possible" has been given a tint of artificiality by the mannequin simile, a tint that will not be entirely forgotten when their appearance is identified with that of their live friends. On the other hand, the later implication that death has given these corpses an insight into life which the live bourgeoisie lacks, implies that the latter are also, in their own way, mannequins. The play upon appearance and actuality of life and death in the first mannequin simile may thus be transferred to the living and still-inexperienced-in-death members of the excursion.¹³

The actual *Totentanz* towards which such excursions traditionally head takes place in a rather short section following, and Apollinaire reaches for a strong sense of paradox through recurrent counterpoint of life and death. Here, elements that were used to produce a sense of

13. The concluding lines 102-12 seem to confirm this reading, and a parallel contrast set up in the village between those who have had the vicarious experience of death, and those who have not. Cf.:

Ils vivaient si noblement que ceux qui, la veille encore, les regardaient comme leurs égaux ou même quelque chose de moins, admiraient maintenant leur puissance, leur richesse et leur génie. (105-108)

grotesque horror in the German *Schauerballade* enter in a more subdued pathetic sense to recall the fundamental difference between the living and the dead throughout the rest of the promenade. The music is keen and shrill: "ils firent des sifflets..." (34), and later:

Les enfants déchiraient l'air en soufflant, les joues creuses, dans leurs sifflets. . . . (90-91)

Couples "Dansèrent au son aigre des cithares" (37) punctuated by "de temps à autre une cloche" (39)¹⁴ for

Ils n'avaient pas oublié la danse, ces morts et ces mortes! (38)

The interpolations inside the ring scenes themselves are of sounds which reflect the paradoxical nature of the scenes: in the first scene, there are "de ces rondes aux paroles absurdes et lyriques" (47)¹⁵ and in the second, an ironic passage of call and echo in which the relationship of living to dead is only too obviously suggested:

. . . un écho répondait de la rive. On ne se lassait point de l'interroger. Il y eut des questions si extravagantes et des réponses tellement pleines d'à-propos que c'étaient à mourir de rire. . . . (79-82)

The poet undercuts, then, the feeling of homogeneity previously established in order to prepare and provide a background for the crucial central dialogues.

These dialogues seem to contain in dramatic form the essential theme as stated in the last or commentary section of the poem (105-12), and it is perhaps not unrelated that the poem's most lyrical passages are to be found here. The paradoxical feelings shown more generally in the rest of the poem are reduced to an ultimate dramatic economy of characters: a representative from one world confronts a representative from the other in the presumably essential relationship of a love scene. An eventual "purification" of the relationship between dead and living shown in the entire poem should emerge from these two scenes in which first a dead woman is counterpoised to a living man, and second, a dead man to a living woman.

The first scene (41-62) begins in a traditionally sentimental attitude which seems calculated to remain soothingly ordinary until the shock of line 41. "Une morte assise sur un banc" with a student kneeling before her retains a certain coquetry from her very position, but her simplicity contrasts with the more stylized attitude of her companion. The dead woman

. . . laissait un étudiant, agenouillé à ses pieds, lui parler de fiançailles. (42-43)

14. Another poem, "Les Cloches," attributes a likewise sinister sound to bells.

15. This explanation does not run contrary to M. Orecchioni's (*op. cit.*, p. 53), but would be an indication of the passage's relationship to the whole poem.

Each person speaks twice; the student speaks in the romantic novel tradition:

"Je vous attendrai dix ans, vingt ans, s'il le faut. Votre volonté sera la mienne." (44-45)

and the dead woman brings out the facility of his promise:

"Je vous attendrai toute votre vie": répondait la morte. (46)

Apollinaire emphasizes the contrast by an identical beginning phrase ("Je vous attendrai"), but he cuts the scene directly with a short interlude. Children, "de ce monde ou bien de l'autre," sing songs which, "absurdes et lyriques," reflect the lyrical absurdity of their position before the dialogue recommences. A new symbol enters—a broken ring in this case symbolizing the impossibility of marriage between dead and living: "hélas! la bague était brisée" (57, 61). The breaking of the ring marks the end of this scene, but the continued contrast between the two manners of speaking is worth further attention. The student speaks in terms of guarantees, of promises, of marriage-ceremonies in a passage rendered extremely ironical by the funeral overtones of the chosen decor.

"des touffes de myrte à nos vêtements et dans vos cheveux, un beau sermon à l'église . . . et de la musique, de la musique!" (53-55)

The fiancée speaks of children, and in such lyrically hyperbolic terms—"plus beaux plus beaux encore . . . que s'ils étaient d'argent ou d'or" (56-58)—that her willed idealism appears on a level with her own realization of its impossibility. She mixes her images with a sense of her fleeting moment of life, seized only by the senses:

"que le lilas qui vient d'éclore,—que le thym, la rose ou qu'un brin—de lavande ou de romarin." (61-62)

The scene ends, then, on a note of impossibility, of paradox and absurdity redeemed somewhat by a keen sensation of being alive: Apollinaire cuts it off abruptly and proceeds to the corresponding scene—this time on a boat—between a dead man and a living woman. Whereas in the previous scene the element of possession and of things relative to the speaker played the predominant part, here the horizon diminishes to a counterpoint only of emotions. The contrast is more openly psychological, but the apparent superiority of the dead—who have no illusions—is maintained.

"Je vous aime, disait-il, comme le pigeon aime la colombe, comme l'insecte nocturne aime la lumière." (73-74)

The woman, alive, answers in practical, mundane terms which scarcely correspond to the declaration:

"Trop tard, répondait la vivante. Repoussez, repoussez cet amour défendu. Je suis mariée. Voyez l'anneau qui brille." (75-76)

The irony of "Trop tard," of "amour défendu," and of the ring—this time unbroken, and which she brandishes as a symbol of safe and sane marriage, creates its effect before the woman tries to put herself on a common level with the dead man by showing her sympathy: "Mes mains tremblent, je pleure et je voudrais mourir" (76-77). The interpolated scene of the echoes prevents this scene from falling into banality, and the same purpose is served by the skillful technique with which Apollinaire puts the ending lines in the mouth of the dead man. "Nous serions si heureux ensemble!"—he restates his love, and then suggests a way out: "Sur nous l'eau se refermera." Her previous superficial and, she hoped, untested reaction—"je pleure et je voudrais mourir"—is put to the proof: very simply, the dead man suggests that she die too. He quickly sees that her sympathy does not extend so far—"mais vous pleurez et vos main tremblent" (recalling 76-77)—and he reassures her "aucun de nous ne reviendra." Neither this scene nor the former one shows a bitter attitude on the part of the dead person, for on the way back to the cemetery

Les amoureux s'entr'aimaient, et, par couples aux belles bouches, marchaient à distances inégales. (86-88)

In each scene there is a tone of knowledge, a realistic appraisal of circumstances by the dead one, which contrasts sharply with the more naïve attitudes of the living. Apollinaire's excursion puts into direct opposition a world of the dead, in which each sentiment has an absolute value because of its brevity (and there is no toying with imitation values), and a world of the living in which human illusions have more power. The last lines

On est fortifié pour la vie et l'on n'a plus besoin de personne . . .

reflect in a very real sense the ability of the dead to create a world for themselves, a world in which "l'amour de l'amour" prevails over dependence on particular people.¹⁶ The experience of death for the dead people has meant that they see things more clearly, and thus live more consciously, more intensely—the development is analogous for the living people who meet them: "On devient si pur . . .," etc. (115).

Any metaphysical conclusions to be drawn from the work are evidently based upon a series of calculated scenes arranged with quite technical, carpenter-like skill. The narrative form of the excursion is

16. One may detect a familiar autobiographical note here. Apollinaire's unsuccessful courtship of Annie Playden is associated with the same period and approximate environment as "La Maison des morts," and it is not surprising that he should draw a moral consolatory both to himself and to the "morts."

handled in such a manner as gradually to isolate and to concentrate attention upon the representative *tête-à-tête* scenes in the middle, and this organization holds true whether the *prima facie* form be prose or verse. The fact that "L'Obituaire" exists, however, both in prose and in verse, must prompt some consideration of the work's appearance in its variant forms.

Clarity will best be served by comparing the original prose version with the most commonly known versified one, the definitive unpunctuated poem given in the final edition. It would be well to establish also the intermediate stages through the 1909 (*Vers et Prose*) and 1913 (*Lanson*) versions as compared to the later 1913 edition in *Alcools*; the changes are minor but interesting. The prose version has several basic differences from later versified forms, and the versifications differ among themselves mainly in respect to prosodic structure.

Inasmuch as the prose title of "L'Obituaire" is changed to "La Maison des morts," there are three substitutions beyond the title in which Apollinaire has changed the name of the morgue.¹⁷ In the second line, the substitution is simply of "La maison des morts" for "L'obituaire." In line 45, the phrasing is more involved: "Loin de l'obituaire" gives way to "Loin des arcades de leur maison,"¹⁸ which combines the solemnity of "arcades" with the relative familiarity of "maison." Line 194 subsequently replaces "Dans l'obituaire" with "Sous les Arcades," a change which, by its omission of the familiar tone of "de leur maison" (line 45) appropriately emphasizes the solemn, funeral aspect of the return to the morgue.

The only other verbal changes consist in the omission of "de bière" from the "tonneau" of line 73, the substitution of "Dans" for "sur" ("la montagne") in line 179, and an ultimate dropping of the "re-" in "rejoignirent" to make the simple "joignirent" of line 60 (the first form exists up to and including the 1913 *Lanson* anthology); this last change may intend emphasis upon the unique and miraculous nature of the excursion, but the changes as a whole seem relatively minor.¹⁹

There remain some prosodic differences: two passages are contracted in the *Alcools* edition, and five expanded. The "et par hasard" of line 8, and the "poétiques" of line 91, are given separate line status in all earlier editions, and the *Alcools* passages of lines 106-107, 139-40, 144-45, 182-83, and 195-97, are each printed in single lines. Strophe di-

17. Line references, unless otherwise indicated, are now to the versified poem in the 1913 edition of *Alcools*.

18. The *Lanson Anthologie* capitalizes "Maison des Morts" (2) and "Maison" (45). It is noticeable that, although the *Alcools* edition removes most such capitalization, the form "Arcades" (194) remains—presumably another means of emphasizing the solemn aspect of this later scene.

19. The *Pléiade* edition corrects a misprint in the N. R. F. edition: line 167 should read "les vivantes" according to previous texts.

visions are more varied: in 1909, longer single passages are made out of the *Alcools* passages running from lines 14-29, 50-65, 75-92, 93-120, 121-32, 133-50, 159-79, 190-200, whereas in the 1913 Lanson edition it is rather *Alcools* passages 75-92, 93-105, 121-26, 151-62, 163-79, which are amalgamated. (The Lanson edition also separates *Alcools* 50-57 into two quatrains.) Finally, the last section in the *Alcools* edition (206-18) was divided both in *Vers et Prose* and in Lanson between lines 211-12. Although divisions thus fluctuate considerably, it seems that there is a development away from the original prose paragraphs through varying strophe forms, towards a more articulated expression.

It remains to speak of the change into verse. Apollinaire, in a letter to Henri Martineau after the publication of *Alcools*, defends his omission of punctuation in the volume and at the same time indicates his conception of the verse line:

Pour ce qui concerne la ponctuation je ne l'ai supprimée que parce qu'elle m'a paru inutile et elle l'est en effet, le rythme même et la coupe des vers voilà la véritable ponctuation et il n'en est pas besoin d'une autre.²⁰

Certainly one of the positive qualities of the versification of the "Maison des morts" is that the lines are separated in such logical fashion that punctuation is, in effect, unnecessary. Probably the poet already had such an aim in mind when he transposed his prose into verse in 1909; punctuation, however, was not omitted in this intermediate stage. Its omission in 1913 seems the logical conclusion of "L'Obituaire"'s 1909 versification.

However, the very next sentences of Apollinaire's letter modify the relationship of this theory to the "Maison des morts." Apollinaire is evidently speaking of a very different kind of writing from the balanced, schematic composition of "L'Obituaire." He is speaking of a song-like composition so close to the spoken act of creation that it would not admit the artificiality of added punctuation.

Mes vers ont presque tous été publiés sur le brouillon même. Je compose généralement en marchant et en chantant sur deux ou trois airs qui me sont venus naturellement et qu'un de mes amis a notés. La ponctuation courante ne s'appliquerait point à de telles chansons.

Even if the versification of the "Maison des morts" does follow a pattern separating thought by rhythmic entities, this new pattern is due to a conception of verse form rather than to any inherent necessity of "L'Obituaire" to evolve. Further, this very conception of verse form is more closely allied to spontaneous creation of verse, to the "brouillon même," than to the reworking of a prose piece. The poet who did not want to deform his original "chansons" with added punctuation, finds

20. Apollinaire, letter to Henri Martineau, July 19, 1913.

himself precisely de-forming, or at least re-forming, his original prose composition to conform to an idea of verse.

It remains a serious question, then, as to just what esthetic elements have been added or subtracted as "L'Obituaire" gives way to the "Maison des morts." The original prose contains "poetic" elements which exist even when the story is not written in *vers libre*. This prose form tends towards poetry in many an instance: in its interior rhymes, its frequently lyrical rhythms, and also in the lyricism that Apollinaire creates as simple emotions expressed directly and with force. Rhyme which exists already in the prose becomes all the more apparent when transposed into verse form, and one already hears the echoes in "desous, militaires, absous, cimetière" (*Alcools*, 46-49), and in the alternate line rhymes of "souvent, récent, portant, vivant" (*Alcools*, 51-57). In the first ring scene, the dead "fiancée" expresses herself in a kind of monotonous rhythmic chant which complements the tone of hidden despair. Apollinaire separates her sentences into lines of approximately the same length, but what emerges quite openly in the poetry as strong rhymes for six alternating lines ("encore, ou d'or, encore, l'aurore, encore, d'éclore") is equally musical in the prose, with the unique added charm of being distinguished as a kind of submerged lyricism. The poet has already created a subdued musical effect in the prose, for the passage ends upon two lines which sound as final in "L'Obituaire" as they do in the "Maison des morts":

que le thym la rose ou qu'un brin—de lavande ou de romarin. (62 in "L'Obituaire")

The story first existed as prose tending towards poetry; Apollinaire transformed it by the simple process of cutting up the paragraph into verses. Whether his intention was to perform a *tour de force* or simply to experiment with the results he could obtain by various spacing of lines, the 1913 edition of *Alcools* presented "L'Obituaire" in its now-final form of unpunctuated *vers libre*. In distinguishing between the effects gained by the new verse form, one would have to accentuate the relative slowness in reading acquired by a marked separation of thoughts. Such slowness possesses an admirable characteristic in particularizing the exact meaning of each expression, and by making its place in the structure of the poem more obvious. In lines 83-85, the shock of realism in the dead woman's answer unfolds in three parts: first, a parallelism is established with the previous speech—"Je vous attendrai"; second, a contrast is drawn between the two perspectives in time—"Toute votre vie"; and third, the fundamental difference between the speakers is quietly asserted—"Répondait la morte." In this rather thorny matter of distinguishing the permanent fact of the word order from the change

in page presentation, it should be noted that the change is primarily one of degree. Apollinaire has broken up a single sentence into its three component parts, each part containing a complete idea or effect, and each part given full value through the necessity of seeing it as an entity separated from the other parts. The change is towards clarification, without changing the sound of the reading; certainly the separate-line status cannot be meant as an invitation to frequent awkward pauses in recitation, but should be taken as a tacit equivalent to a footnote pointing out the separation and gradual accumulation of effects.²¹

Apollinaire's technique of versification seems based upon a conception of a particular unity of thought, a unity that coincides with the line itself; almost any section of the poem illustrates this technique, but for the purpose of considering a further interior change we may focus our attention upon an early section (lines 7-13). "Arrivé à Munich depuis quinze ou vingt jours"—the poet situates himself in the environment of the poem; the line evokes a casual and general relationship to the whole city which quickly becomes personal and specific: "J'étais entré pour la première fois et par hasard..." The next line consists of a simple, impersonal image of his surroundings: "Dans ce cimetière presque désert" and the image takes on a separate and personal entity through the several effects created by "cimetière" and "presque désert" juxtaposed. The image of the poet in the next line—"Et je claquais des dents"—reflects his own chill and discomfort and remains another personal image opposed to the following one: "Devant toute cette bourgeoisie." The contrast between these two lines is that between a person and a group, between a strongly personal reaction and a vaguely ironic static image, and also, as in the whole poem, between life and death. Only two more lines remain, and although they both describe "toute cette bourgeoisie" they also are sharply divided. "Exposée et vêtue le mieux possible" introduces the whole theme of the bourgeois—a theme already indicated by the preceding mannequin imagery—while "En attendant la sépulture" recalls the absolute situation of death, a death contrasting both with the mannequin imagery and with the approaching metamorphosis. Each line has a sharp individuality in the developing sense of the poem, then, and it is perhaps worth while to note a certain interior change made in this section from the version of 1909 to the final one in 1913. In the line "J'étais entré pour la première fois et par hasard" it appears that Apollinaire first spaced "et par hasard" as a line itself; this phrase is evidently to

21. Lines 36-41 provide a further instance (in this case corroborative, since it does not depend on line patterns) of this sense of gradated effect. When the dead come to life, they do so in a series of expressions that move from a static state to a positive and personal action: the five key words are *étaient*, *embellissaient*, *regardaient*, *cordialité*, and *tendresse*.

be connected with the situation of the whole line as it now stands, and Apollinaire made the change accordingly.²²

A passage towards the end of the poem (191-99) shows much greater variation in line lengths; the technique of a separate effect embodied in each line seems maintained, but with a more open attempt to create particular effects through manipulation of verses. The two passages are somewhat similar in that each describes the dead in their mannequin-state, and the ending lines are particularly close. The later passage has the further function, however, of bridging the gap between life and death for these people. Apollinaire seems to slow down and to soften their return to death by breaking up the description into a number of short lines:

Qui s'en allaient tout droit
Au cimetière
Où
Sous les Arcades
Je les reconnus
Couchés
Immobiles
Et bien vêtus
Attendant la sépulture derrière les vitrines. (191-99)

The lines hover around the fact of their return to death: the resettlement in the morgue becomes precise in four stages (191-94) and their return to the mannequin stage of the beginning emerges in the last four lines. A definite wish to separate these last phrases is evident in Apollinaire's mind, for one of the few changes in versification between the earlier and later versions is the creation of lines 195-97 out of a single previous line. Similar line patterns designed to soften and retard the movement from life into death appear in the short separation scene at the end of the excursion, where the tone becomes more familiar, calm, and gradual through its separation of phrases, its suggestion of familiar echoing in farewells. A striking concurrent effect is that it is necessary to accentuate the irony of the clichés used in saying good-bye:

Notre troupe diminue peu à peu
On se disait
Au revoir
A demain
A bientôt. (181-85)

Versification cannot fill every need, however, and this same slowness may occasionally seem inappropriate. Passages appear in which Apollinaire seems to lag a little, in which he makes the moral emerge a

22. The only other such amalgamation of a line shows parallel development: cf. the once-separate *poétiques* of line 91.

little too openly, or even into which he inserts a feeling of false simplicity. Subterranean contrasts become too obvious: the sympathetic water which "dansait à peine" (126) and the juniper-tree which "parfois / Faisait l'effet d'un fantôme" (170-71) are secondary images that seem too calculated if dwelt upon. The simplicity of the country outing suffers also when the particular wood for the children's whistles must be so specially identified:

Ils coupèrent du bois de viorne
Et de sureau
Dont ils firent des sifflets . . . (62-64)

and

Dans leurs sifflets de viorne
Ou de sureau. . . (174-75)

Further, the simile of line 15, "Rapide comme ma mémoire," appears to have a different function in prose and in verse. In the prose, it is a subordinate element in a gradual process of recall: the simile's function is to bridge a passage of remembrance with a passage of miracle, while stating in itself the sudden burst of memory recalling. Apollinaire jumps directly from his casual visit in the cemetery to an apocalyptic reawakening (16-18) of the dead, but bridges a potentially awkward gap between states of mind by attributing the change to a sudden and complete flood of recollection. The simile in verse-form acquires a different individuality, however: its status as a separate line calls attention to itself above and beyond the function of transition, but the image of the line has structural rather than visual significance and cannot bear scrutiny outside its subordinate function. The tone rings false from time to time, then, when the emphasis forced by particularization and slow reading does not seem justified by any newly emerging values.

"L'Obituaire" 's transposition was completed according to a perfectly coherent conception of verse-form. Any evaluation of the change must in consequence consider whether this verse form, certainly valid in itself, is valid when applied as an overlay to a previous prose work. It seems from Apollinaire's willingness to change the form that the particular matter of the work which interested him was that which could remain unchanged. Here is not the symbolists' case of beauty to be found in form alone. The various forms imposed by the poet on the original tale work towards an elucidation of that tale, and the verse-form is employed as a tool for that end. The sense becomes clearer because of the versification, but Apollinaire's effort has been directed only towards the sense. On the other hand, the attention forced upon each separate line of the new poem results in occasional over-articulation and falsifying of the original tone. A purely expository standard would uphold the great gain made in clarifying the meaning and structure of

the poem; a more directly esthetic standard would suggest that the versification tends at times to falsify the tone of the original work. The conclusion is paradoxical: instead of the usual procedure of paraphrasing a poem for a clearer understanding, the poem here seems an explanatory text for better reading of the prose.

It would be a rare work indeed that could be equally satisfactory and equally eminent in prose and in verse. Evidently Apollinaire preferred the verse form with its development towards increasing clarity, since he included "La Maison des morts" in *Alcools* and never reprinted "L'Obituaire" in any volume of *contes*. Nonetheless, the question may remain open as to which of the two forms is preferable, for the means by which the clarity of the final version is reached detract from what is, in the original version, a totally coherent impression. In itself, the *vers libre* of the "Maison des morts" presents a technique that is more interesting to us, more advanced than the simple paragraph style of the "Obituaire," and undoubtedly one of the positive values of other poems such as "Zone." However, the development of Apollinaire's verse technique is a separate study, and the composition first published as "L'Obituaire" remains more satisfactory in its original prose. The blocks and groups by which Apollinaire chose to organize his prose work have nothing to gain by being dispersed over a more articulated verse pattern in which the attention of the reader is focused upon shorter units. When Apollinaire first wrote down his recollections of the Munich morgue, he did so in a form best fitted to the story as it continues to exist.

L'OBITUAIRE

1 S'étendant sur les côtés du cimetière, l'obituaire l'encadrait
comme un cloître. A l'intérieur de ses vitrines pareilles à celles
des boutiques de modes, au lieu de sourire debout, les man-
nequins grimaçaient pour l'éternité.

5 Arrivé à Munich depuis quinze ou vingt jours, j'étais entré
pour la première fois, et par hasard, dans ce cimetière presque
désert, et je claquais des dents devant toute cette bourgeoisie
exposée et vêtue le mieux possible en attendant la supulture
[sic].

10 Soudain, rapide comme ma mémoire, les yeux se rallumèrent
de cellule vitrée en cellule vitrée, le ciel se peupla d'une apo-
calypse vivace et la terre, plate à l'infini comme avant Galilée,
se couvrit de mille mythologies immobiles.

Un ange en diamant brisa toutes les vitrines et les morts
m'accostèrent avec des mines de l'autre monde.

15 Mais leur visage et leurs attitudes devinrent bientôt moins funèbres. Le ciel et la terre perdirent leur aspect fantasmagorique.

Les morts se réjouissaient de voir leurs trépassés entre eux et la lumière. Ils riaient de leur ombre et l'observaient comme si véritablement c'eût été leur vie passée.

20 Alors, je les dénombrai. Ils étaient quarante-neuf hommes, femmes et enfants qui embellissaient à vue d'œil et me regardaient maintenant avec tant de cordialité, tant de tendresse même, que les prenant en amitié tout à coup, je les invitai à une promenade loin de l'obituaire.

25 Et tous bras dessus, bras dessous,—fredonnant des airs militaires,—oui, tous vos péchés sont absous,—nous quittâmes le cimetière.

•

Nous traversâmes la ville et rencontrions souvent des parents, des amis qui se joignaient à la petite troupe des morts récents.

30 Tous étaient si gais, si charmants, si bien portants que bien malin qui aurait pu distinguer les morts des vivants.

Puis, dans la campagne, on s'éparpilla. Deux cheveau-légers nous rejoignirent. On leur fit fête. Ils coupèrent du bois de viorne et de sureau dont ils firent des sifflets qu'il distribuèrent

35 aux enfants.

•

Plus tard, dans un bal champêtre, les couples, mains sur les épaules, dansèrent au son aigre des cithares.

Ils n'avaient pas oublié la danse, ces morts et ces mortes! On buvait aussi, et, de temps à autre, une cloche annonçait qu'un

40 nouveau tonneau de bière allait être mis en perce.

•

Une morte, assise sur un banc, près d'un buisson d'épine-vinette, laissait un étudiant, agenouillé à ses pieds, lui parler de fiançailles:

45 —"Je vous attendrai dix ans, vingt ans, s'il le faut. Votre volonté sera la mienne."

—"Je vous attendrai toute votre vie": répondait la morte.

Des enfants—de ce monde ou bien de l'autre—chantaient de ces rondes aux paroles absurdes et lyriques qui, sans doute, sont les restes des plus anciens monuments poétiques de l'humanité.

50 L'étudiant passa une bague à l'annulaire de la jeune morte:

—"Voici le gage de mon amour, de nos fiançailles. Ni le temps, ni l'absence ne nous feront oublier nos promesses. Et, un jour, nous aurons une belle noce, des touffes de myrte à nos vêtements et dans vos cheveux, un beau sermon à l'église, de longs

- 55 discours après le banquet et de la musique, de la musique!"
—"Nos enfants, dit la fiancée, seront plus beaux, plus beaux
encor—hélas! la bague était brisée—que s'il étaient d'argent ou
d'or—d'émeraude ou de diamant,—seront plus clairs, plus clairs
encore,—que les astres du firmament,—que la lumière de l'aurore,
60 —que vos regards, mon fiancé,—auront meilleure odeur encore
—hélas! la bague était brisée—que le lilas qui vient d'éclore,—
que le thym, la rose ou qu'un brin—de lavande ou de romarin."
-

- Les musiciens s'en étant allés, nous continuâmes la promenade.
Au bord d'un lac, on s'amusa à faire des ricochets, avec des
65 cailloux plats, sur l'eau qui dansait à peine.
Des barques étaient amarrées dans un havre. On les détacha
après que toute la troupe se fut embarquée, et quelques morts
ramaient avec autant de vigueur que les vivants.
-

- A l'avant du bateau que je gouvernais, un mort parlait avec
70 une jeune femme vêtue d'une robe jaune, d'un corsage noir
avec des rubans bleus et d'un chapeau gris orné d'une seule
petite plume défrisée.

- "Je vous aime, disait-il, comme le pigeon aime la colombe,
comme l'insecte nocturne aime la lumière."
75 —"Trop tard, répondait la vivante. Repoussez, repoussez cet
amour défendu. Je suis mariée. Voyez l'anneau qui brille. Mes
mains tremblent, je pleure et je voudrais mourir."

- Les barques étaient arrivées à un endroit où les cheveu-légers
savaient qu'un écho répondait de la rive. On ne se lassait point
80 de l'interroger. Il y eut des questions si extravagantes et des
réponses tellement pleines d'à-propos que c'étaient à mourir de
rire, et le mort disait à la vivante:

- "Nous serions si heureux ensemble!—Sur nous l'eau se refer-
mera—mais vous pleurez et vos mains tremblent—aucun de nous
85 ne reviendra."
-

- On reprit terre et ce fut le retour. Les amoureux s'entr'ai-
maient, et, par couples aux belles bouches, marchaient à dis-
tances inégales. Les morts avaient choisi les vivantes, et les vi-
vants, des mortes. Un genévrier, parfois, faisait l'effet d'un fan-
tôme. Les enfants déchiraient l'air en soufflant, les joues creuses,
90 dans leurs sifflets de viorne ou de sureau, tandis que les mi-
litaires chantaient des tyroliennes en se répondant comme on
le fait sur la montagne.
-

95 Dans la ville, notre troupe diminua peu à peu. On se disait
au revoir, à demain, à bientôt. Beaucoup entraient dans les
brasseries. Quelques-uns nous quittèrent devant une boucherie
canine pour y acheter leur repas du soir.

100 Bientôt, je restai seul avec ces morts qui s'en allaient tout
droit au cimetière où, dans l'obituaire, je les reconnus: couchés,
immobiles et bien vêtus, attendant la sépulture derrière les
vitrines.

Ils ne se doutaient pas de ce qui s'était passé, mais les vivants
en gardaient le souvenir. C'était un bonheur inespéré et si cer-
tain qu'ils ne craignaient point de le perdre.

105 Ils vivaient si noblement que ceux qui, la veille encore, les
regardaient comme leurs égaux ou même quelque chose de
moins, admiraient maintenant leur puissance, leur richesse, et
leur génie.

110 Car, y a-t-il rien qui vous élève comme d'avoir aimé un mort
ou une morte? On devient si pur qu'on en arrive dans les gla-
ciers de la mémoire à se confondre avec le souvenir. On est
fortifié pour la vie et l'on n'a plus besoin de personne.

REVIEWS

Rigaut de Berbezilh, Liriche a cura di Alberto Varvaro. Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza No. IV. Bari, 1960. Pp. 295. "Et el si se deleitava mout de dire en sas chanssos similitudines de bestias e d'auzels e d'omes e del soleil e de las estellas, per dire plus novellas razons qe autre non agues dichas," says the old *vida* of Rigaut, thus aptly characterizing the nature of his poetry. Indeed, except Nos. IV and VII, each of his nine songs contains such metaphors, amounting to six in the most famous of his poems, No. II, the one which, with some changes, formed the topic of the sixty-fourth story in the Italian *Novellino*. The popularity of his songs is proved by the fact that most of them have come down to us in many manuscripts, one, again No. II, in twenty-seven, and that, for five of the poems, the manuscripts offer the melodies. It is therefore surprising that Rigaut's stanza forms, generally rather simple, should have been imitated by only two troubadours: No. V by Bernart d'Auriac and No. IX by Folquet de Romans.

The poems of Rigaut have been previously edited by Anglade (*Rev. des langues rom.* 60 [1920], pp. 201 ff). This edition, for which its author could use material prepared by Chabaneau, comprises ten poems, Varvaro's only nine. But Anglade himself doubted that his No. VII was by Rigaut, and the present editor was right in relegating it to his section of poems of uncertain or wrong attribution. One could even entertain some doubts about the authorship of Varvaro's No. VIII. In some of the eight manuscripts the poem is anonymous or attributed to Albert de Sestaron. MSS *IKdNa'*, the three first of which count as only one, name Rigaut as author; but two, *H* and *T*, ascribe it to an otherwise unknown poet, Faidit de Belestar.¹ The first line of this poem: *Tot atressi con la clardatz del dia* is so similar to that of the three most famous of Rigaut's poems which start with *Atressi com...*, that it is easy to understand how the poem could have been wrongly attributed to the celebrated troubadour rather than to the unknown Faidit. Two more reasons support our doubts. The author of the poem uses rhymes in *-ia*, which result from dropping an intervocalic *-d-*: *servia* (l. 19), *partia* (l. 22) and *iauzia* (l. 31), instead of *servida*, *partida*, *iauzida*. Such rhymes are not found again in Rigaut's poems. On the contrary, he keeps *-ia* and *-ida* strictly separated. In No. I we find ten regular rhymes in *-ida*, in No. III as many regular rhymes in *-ia*. Finally, l. 1 of each stanza of No. VIII offers an interior rhyme in *-i* (*atressi, camí, vi, mi*), but in stanza V the rhyme word is *consir*. One hesitates to attribute to Rigaut such metrical negligence.

The texts, including those of dubious attribution, have been established in this new edition with great care. While Anglade's edition is based on a limited number of manuscripts, the present editor used all the known manuscripts. He consequently differs from his predecessor in the choice of the base manuscript or group of manuscripts. It would seem, however, that he sometimes sticks too strictly to his base manuscript.² In order to obtain it, Varvaro sub-

1. The only other time his name occurs is in MS C, which attributes to him a poem that belongs to Arnaut de Marueilh.

2. For instance, in III, 29-31, VI, 48, VIII, 15-16, IX, 36, where Anglade offers, in our opinion, a preferable text.

mitted all pertinent manuscripts to a thorough examination, which, with No. II for example, fills no less than sixteen pages. Carefully drawn stemmata are prepared for most of the poems, a complicated task, since Rigaut's songs are preserved in so many manuscripts. The texts are accompanied by translations and a profusion of explanatory notes.³ Many of them are there only to offer parallels to Rigaut's texts from other poets, a procedure that testifies to the author's extensive reading in troubadour lyrics.

The elaborate introduction deserves a special mention. In the first chapter, Varvaro refutes—and successfully so, we think—the theory of Rita Lejeune, who wanted to place Rigaut among the older generation of troubadours. He comes to the conclusion that the poet flourished between 1170 and 1210, a statement that is nearly identical with that made by Jeanroy.⁴ On pp. 23–28 of this chapter, the author discusses poem No. II and its *razo* in their relation to the story No. 64 of the Italian *Novellino*. While Gaston Paris was of the opinion that the *razo* and the “novella” had a common source, the author tries to show that both *razo* and *Novellino* had only one source in common—the poem itself.

An examination of Rigaut's metrical technique confirms the above mentioned dates of his poetical career. There is, contrary to Lejeune's claim, nothing archaic in Rigaut's versification. One could add that the intricate structure of No. VII apparently has its model in Arnaut Daniel's “sestina” and must have been composed after the latter.

A third chapter, finally, deals with the contents and the style of Rigaut's poems. The author shows that they are built on very few themes, mainly on the ideas of *atendre*, *sofrir*, and *merce*. Reality is excluded from them: no *lauzenjadors*, no jealous husbands appear in them as in other troubadours' poems. On the other hand, reality enters through the numerous comparisons. To them the author devotes an extensive discussion, especially to those taken from the medieval “bestiaires” (seven from some twenty). He emphasizes the symbolical and religious meanings which were given in the Middle Ages to those animal stories⁵ and believes that, for Rigaut, the comparisons taken from them were no external “décor” but that he used those metaphors imbued with religious mystery in a kind of parallel to another mystic sphere, that of Love.⁶ But what about the other metaphors which are not derived from the animal world? It would seem that the editor attributes to his poet a profundity of thought which he did not own and that Rigaut's excessive use of metaphors simply was a means to rouse the attention of his audience and give his poetry a touch of originality.

The doubts expressed here do not in the least diminish the value of the

3. I missed only one, viz., for V, 18, where the rhyme word *iauzimen*, which is nom. sing., has no *s* at the end.

4. *Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, I, 426.

5. Indeed, they were early and generally accompanied by such mystic interpretations (cf., the *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaun, about 1125), but it is a noteworthy fact that just the Provençal bestiaire *Aiso son las naturas d'alcus auzels e d'alcunas bestias* (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.* No. 125) is free of them and tells its stories as natural phenomena, in prose and in a very matter-of-fact style.

6. “[Egli] transforma quella che era ‘figura’ di un mistero sacro in ‘figura’ di tutt'altro mistero, quello profano di Amore” (p. 65).

interesting introduction or of the whole edition, which we do not hesitate to call a remarkable piece of work. (KURT LEWENT, *Columbia University*)

La alegoría en el Libro de Buen Amor. Por Thomas R. Hart. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1959. Pp. 123. This book is not, as its title might lead us to believe, a comprehensive study of the art of allegory as practiced by Juan Ruiz. It aims rather to explain what might be called the moral ambiguity of *El libro de buen amor*, by revealing certain allegorical categories which have been so far unnoticed or have received only passing attention.

Ever since scholars of the Romantic period ranked *El libro de buen amor* among the masterpieces of Spanish literature, critics have violently disagreed on the issue of the moral or indeed the didactic intentions which should or should not be attributed to the author. To-day, when scholarly concern has moved away so radically from biographical or moralistic preoccupations, this particular debate remains open and lively among the foremost authorities. And it could hardly be otherwise, for the ambivalent attitude of consecutive attacks upon and surrender to *el loco amor*, which so forcefully characterize Juan Ruiz's work, cannot be easily accounted for or dismissed as a matter of secondary importance. His uniquely personal accent intensifies the enigma of interpreting the work. It would be difficult, indeed, to make an analytical study of *El libro de buen amor* without taking a stand, at least implicitly, with respect to the problem of the author's purpose.

Thomas R. Hart believes, like María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, that the primary aim of Juan Ruiz's masterpiece is didactic. Professor Lida substantiated this theory in a masterful introduction to an abridged edition of *El libro* (1941). Among those partially dissenting from her point of view we find, however, the eminent scholars Ramón Menéndez Pidal, for whom parody is foremost in the Arcipreste's art, and Américo Castro, who finds a clue to its paradoxes and elusiveness in the author's assimilation of Islamic influences, both literary and psychological. This and other important points of controversy among commentators of *El libro de buen amor*, have been discussed by Professor Lida in a recent study (*Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XIII [1959], 17-82), which must have been in the process of being printed at the same time as the book we are reviewing. Since Professor Hart adds more material to the didactic interpretation, and since his discussion includes no extensive survey of past criticism, these independent studies supplement each other and we recommend that they both be consulted.

In the first chapter of his book, Professor Hart reminds the reader of the importance of allegory in medieval art and thought, emphasizing the fact that Juan Ruiz wrote for an audience that was trained to seek in works of art a message credited with a transcendental reality. This tendency and the fact that the Arcipreste shared with his public a common frame of reference and body of knowledge indicate, according to the author, that the implicit meaning of certain passages, obscure to-day, may have been clear to his contemporaries. The main purpose of his study is to clarify in such obscure areas the allegorical dimension of *El libro de buen amor*.

Professor Hart discusses Juan Ruiz's view of fallen human nature from the

perspective of Patristic philosophy, and he devotes what seems to this reviewer one of the most valuable chapters of his book to studying the distinction made by the Arcipreste between *buen amor* and *loco amor* in its connection with the Augustinian theory of *caritas* and *cupiditas*.

The three remaining chapters attempt, with varying degrees of success, to unfold the moral teaching or the allegorical meaning of three parts of *El libro de buen amor* which are not manifestly didactic: the Arcipreste's encounters with the *serranas*, the story of Don Melón and Doña Endrina, and the episode concerning the nun Doña Garoza. In the first case the author contends that the Arcipreste's usually unsuccessful resistance to the advances of the *serranas* represents the conflict between the spirit and the flesh. This interpretation is ably substantiated by an analysis of the specific passages. The other two episodes are considered as illustrating how *el loco amor*, when finally subjugated by reason, may be lifted to the category of *buen amor*, since in one case seduction is followed by matrimony, and in the other the worldly but virtuous Doña Garoza, far from succumbing, uses her influence to achieve the Arcipreste's moral regeneration. This reader wonders whether such a view of the story of Don Melón adequately reflects the moral outlook of the fourteenth century.

But even when we disagree with Professor Hart's hypothesis, we are grateful for his imaginative approach and admire the scope of his knowledge. His book provides stimulating, occasionally enlightening reading and it brings us a little closer to Juan Ruiz. (MA. SOLEDAD CARRASCO URGOTTI, Hunter College)

Le Sentiment de la nature et le retour à la vie simple (1690-1740). Par Geofroy Atkinson. Genève: Droz, 1960. Pp. 92. The volume under review—the last published by the late Professor Atkinson—brings to a fitting close a long and distinguished career devoted to the intellectual history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From his thesis, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700*, which appeared in 1920, to the present essay Professor Atkinson showed particular interest in the origin of currents, ideas, and attitudes generally considered characteristic of the eighteenth century.

The twentieth century has witnessed an ever-growing awareness on the part of literary historians of the pre-romantic appreciation of nature as aesthetic norm. How the eighteenth century came to admire the grand and terrifying, as well as the familiar and everyday, aspects of the outdoors and made these the motifs of literature and art has been diligently traced by critics who have endeavored to describe and explain from a variety of viewpoints the emergence of this theme on the Continent and in Britain. While harking back to Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the seventeenth century, most studies have understandably focused on the second half of the eighteenth century—especially those dealing with French writers, who awakened to an emotional response to natural phenomena at least a generation after their British counterparts. As a result, little attention was paid to the changing attitude toward nature during the transitional period between classicism and pre-romanticism.

In choosing the years from 1690 to 1740 Professor Atkinson obviously did not intend to refute the accepted notion that it was an age dominated by philosophical and rationalistic preoccupations; he must have realized the ungrate-

fulness of much of the literary material involved, since all the great nature passages were to be written later. However, his goal, as he tells us in his "Avant-Propos," was to assemble little-known texts pointing to an evolution in taste and mood. He even determined to refrain from personal interpretations of these texts, for "Il nous paraît . . . plus important de faire lire ces passages que d'imposer nos conclusions" (p. 7). The result is a slim but eminently useful book which constitutes excellent preliminary groundwork in an area hitherto unduly neglected.

By exploring the lean years immediately preceding the great pre-romantic generation Professor Atkinson has, in an appealingly modest fashion, demonstrated that prior to Rousseau there was in France a complex of attitudes which only needed to be woven into a meaningful pattern. To be sure, one can regret that the critic should have imposed such drastic limitations upon himself so far as the interpretive aspects of his study were concerned, for there is no doubt that he could have probed more deeply into the manifold implications of his subject. That this volume sometimes falls short of doing justice to the rich topic with which it is concerned is made pointedly evident when one compares it with the approach in depth adopted by Professor Marjorie H. Nicolson in her recent *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, devoted to the same problem across the Channel. Professor Atkinson's comments, throughout his chapters, are pertinent and aptly expressed, but rarely penetrating, original, or provocative. On the other hand, the research that went into this study is both painstaking and well organized, and the examples culled from minor and major works alike have been selected with a keen eye for the telling quotation.

After briefly sketching in the seventeenth-century background, Professor Atkinson shows how, together with rationalistic optimism and the new belief in the innate goodness of natural man and in the benevolence of nature, there emerged an increased interest in primitive and rural society and a sentimental awareness of the beauty and grandeur of natural scenery. Such an awareness was, of course, far from widespread in the early years of the eighteenth century, and before it could be translated into original style and imagery a host of writers had to depict these natural phenomena and the emotions evoked by them in conventional and derivative terms. In this respect, the quotations from Prévost's all-too-rare descriptions of nature offer revealing examples of stylistic groping. As for Lesage and Marivaux, they were much more concerned with character and plot than with physical surroundings. French travelers too, from Saint-Evremond to Montesquieu, continued to show indifference to the aesthetic possibilities of nature, and expressed only dread and aversion when confronted with the overwhelming and wild aspects of the outdoors, such as mountains or precipices. On the whole, only highly civilized landscapes, like those afforded by Holland and the French provinces, were tolerated by these more urban-minded men of letters.

Of much greater import in this connection are such mediocre, yet highly influential, works as the Abbé Pluche's widely read *Spectacle de la nature* (1732). As a sentimental deist who saw in the marvels of nature the most convincing proof of the existence of a benevolent Divinity, Rousseau felt

great kinship with the goodly Abbé, whose work he eagerly studied. At this juncture, it would have been useful to examine the impact of such a transitional author on his more talented successors. But Professor Atkinson repeatedly expresses dislike for the "sources" type of study. Moreover, by deliberately avoiding "de relire . . . les auteurs reconnus comme étant de premier ordre" (p. 7), he is led to omit any discussion of Fénelon's immensely popular *Télémaque* (1699), even though it falls within the period under consideration and had a profound influence on successive generations (the work is not even included in the bibliography). It seems to this reviewer that a well-balanced assessment of the new meanings nature was acquiring in the eyes of the direct predecessors of Rousseau, Diderot, and Buffon is possible only when famous texts are analyzed as well as obscure ones. Familiar though certain writings may be, they bear repetition when new facts are brought to light; they should not be dismissed simply because they are familiar or because the critic is bent on unearthing out-of-the-way documents. Quite expectedly, mention is made of the determinant role English poetry played in the renaissance of nature in French letters, but this is done only in passing, since French translations and adaptations of such epoch-making poems as Thompson's *Seasons* appeared after Professor Atkinson's terminal date of 1740. Nevertheless, a few lengthy quotations from writers like Prévost, who had a first-hand knowledge of England, yield some interesting insights into the genesis of the nature theme.

The fact remains, however, that between 1690 and 1740 only minor writers expressed the kind of consciousness of natural beauty and sublimity that would soon suffice the masterpieces we all know. This study, therefore, has the merit of suggesting that Rousseau and his contemporaries did not introduce altogether new themes but that they expressed in a far more effective manner feelings and thoughts already familiar to their immediate forebears as well as to the reading public. Professor Atkinson's last contribution to scholarship is thus a most worthwhile one, for it not only presents a necessary introduction and pendant to Daniel Morner's *Sentiment de la nature de Jean-Jacques Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, but it also points the way to more detailed monographs on the early eighteenth-century concept of nature and its subsequent effect on the pre-Romantics.¹ (GITA MAY, Columbia University)

L'Idée du bonheur au XVIII^e siècle. Par Robert Mauzi. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1960. Pp. 725. One of the most significant contributions of the Age of Enlightenment was the full rehabilitation of earthly happiness as man's most basic and urgent goal. This was largely achieved by the emergence of a lay morality, divorced from church dogma, and by the presentation of the search for happiness as a natural law—comparable in its rigor and universality to the physical law of gravitation. But if man is not at liberty to elude this pursuit, he is free to elect a certain course of action, and it is with this latter problem (extraordinarily complex in its manifold implications) that the

1. An index of cited names as well as a bibliography of pertinent critical literature would have been welcome (only primary sources are listed in the bibliography).

eighteenth century concerned itself with impassioned interest, placing it at the very core of all philosophical and esthetic speculation. Indeed, one can safely say that, if the right to pursue happiness has become a byword of western tradition and an integral part of modern man's consciousness, it is in no small measure due to the quasi-obsessive manner in which the *philosophes* kept bringing the issue to the foreground, insisting on making it the pivot around which was to gravitate every aspect of personal and social life.

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that such a central and vital concept should never have been accorded a full-length analysis until the present volume. Perhaps the immensity and difficulty of the task have something to do with this lacuna, for the eighteenth century, with its bewilderingly rich and often contradictory crosscurrents, hardly lends itself to an over-all treatment of the subject. This gap has now been filled, and most competently so, by M. Mauzi's bulky, yet highly readable tome. A less stouthearted scholar would have been content to study one important author's conception of happiness or a more limited time span, since everyone who held a pen in the eighteenth century—from the established *philosophe* to the fledgling, blue-stocking, or literary hack—expounded this theme at one time or another. But M. Mauzi courageously determined to wade through and sift all pertinent writings, whether by the great, the near great, or the practically unknown, and this has enabled him to arrive at a comprehensive view of the century and its aspirations. He deserves particular credit for making perceptive use, not only of widely recognized philosophical and literary masterpieces and works of unquestioned historical importance, but also of obscure and generally neglected texts. The amount of reading involved in such an ambitious undertaking is indeed enormous, as is attested by the wealth of references and footnotes in the body of the book, and by the excellently-organized fifty-four page bibliography. But what is more important, the author remains throughout in control of his complex material, and manages to present it in lucid fashion by grouping his analyses of philosophical writings, poetry, the theater, correspondence, memoirs, personal essays, and relevant biographical data around several well-defined themes.

The structure of the book follows a two-part plan. The chapters of the first part successively examine happiness and its prerequisites in relation to human nature in general, and to society, the church, the *philosophes*, and the bourgeoisie in particular. M. Mauzi was altogether justified in devoting a special chapter to the latter class, since it soon encompassed many opposing forces. It was growing increasingly aware of its status and, moreover, was producing a number of first-rate writers whose origin strongly colored their thought and works.

The second part examines happiness in a different perspective; an inner one, so to speak. In effect, it constitutes a dialectical probing into the existential, immediate and subjective forms of personal happiness, from the simple sensory perceptions and instinctive drives to the complex area of intellectualized emotions and sublimated feelings. This part, which is perhaps the most original, brings out all the subtle psychological implications involved in the notion of happiness by reducing it to its components: the different kinds

of pleasures, the passions, ambition, solitude and sociability, country life and city life, primitivism and civilization, activity and repose, reason and sentiment, virtue and self-interest. Since the same themes frequently appear in both parts of the book, certain developments seem repetitive to the reader, although an effort is made to illuminate them by a different light in each case. But on the whole, the perspicacity and skill with which M. Mauzi unfolds the myriad facets of an unusually complex subject make the reading of his book a satisfying and enriching experience.

While underscoring the continuity between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, M. Mauzi is careful to point up the basic divergences between the two periods with regard to happiness. The classical moralists had envisaged happiness as an absolute, immutable and therefore unattainable state. The *philosophes*, for their part, had a pragmatic and relativistic concept of happiness as a dynamic, adaptable, and ever-changing equilibrium between man's desire for personal fulfillment and the demands imposed upon him by society. An interesting aspect of this evolution was the effort made by church authorities to reconcile Christian doctrine with hedonism, and the numerous, albeit little-known, apologies for a less austere and intransigent religious cult are ably scrutinized in the chapter "Bonheur mondain et vie chrétienne." But even though the eighteenth century was eager to rehabilitate the pleasures and recognize them as the necessary concomitants of happiness, it did not confuse an inner state of being with temporary gratifications. Distinctions were also established between happiness on the one hand, and personal security, material progress, and scientific gains on the other. When overtaken by pessimistic moods, writers like Voltaire would sometimes speak of happiness as an illusory dream. Others, like Mme du Deffand, held that a relative measure of tranquility was all imperfect nature could strive for.

Since the eighteenth century rejected rigid systems as well as absolute and universal ideals, it was reduced to elaborating frequently equivocal and temporary solutions which were in constant need of revision. Moreover, the precariousness of a happy equilibrium of desires and satisfactions in the turbulent ebb and flow of life was keenly felt, even by optimistic and doctrinaire thinkers like Helvétius and D'Holbach. Hence, a general endorsement of a prudent, middle-of-the-road form of happiness, which limits desires in order to reduce avoidable frustrations, condemns all extremes, and extols a practical, down-to-earth type of wisdom and a cheerful acceptance of the limitations of human nature. This moderate type of Epicureanism vied in such writers as Diderot with the heroic dream of Stoicism and with many a Christian theme transposed on a secular level or refurbished with a new terminology. Thus, every effort was made to reconcile individual happiness with time-tested ethical standards: lay moralists took great pains to demonstrate convincingly that the surest road to happiness is virtue, while playwrights illustrated the same theme by pitting abnegation against self-interest, and novelists, more often than not, delved into the misfortunes of persecuted virtue. A hedonistic age had to justify morality on hedonistic grounds, not as a good in itself, but as a means to a higher, more lasting form of happiness. *Bienfaisance*, which is equated with virtue, is to be practiced for the keen pleasure it procures well-

born, sensitive souls. How Diderot first accepted and then came to question this simplistic assumption is aptly traced by M. Mauzi.

To be sure, the author had a problem in introducing analyses of specific writers without breaking too noticeably the continuity of his general framework. This he accomplished with a great measure of success, although his presentations of individual figures do tend to be fragmentary—a condition virtually unavoidable in a work of this scope. One of the merits of the book, not the least, is the avoidance of an altogether too prevalent dichotomy, established by generations of scholars, between the literature of ideas and that of the imagination. By confronting writings expressly devoted to the Enlightenment with those of a more personal or more exclusively literary character, by patiently seeking secret motivations, hidden patterns, and psychological undercurrents behind what is stated explicitly, by making perceptive use of a wide range of examples drawn from life and literature, M. Mauzi has captured more than a professed intellectual ideal; it is a whole complex of attitudes—both conscious and unconscious—that emerges from these articulate and painstakingly-documented pages.

It is evident, at the very outset of the book, that M. Mauzi is much more concerned with psychological and literary values than he is with ideological, political, or socio-economic issues. In this respect, it is worthwhile to note that Rousseau is almost always referred to as the author of the *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, rarely as the political thinker; that Montesquieu's *Mes Pensées* are prominently featured, whereas his *Esprit des Lois* is practically passed over in silence; and Voltaire's letters to Mme du Deffand yield as many comments as do his more formal works. M. Mauzi's preference for personal documents (which reveal writers in their unguarded moments) and the attention he gives to the nonphilosophical and irrational manifestations of the eighteenth century will not fail to strike some readers as a definite reaction against the purely intellectual and "history of ideas" approach of a Lanson, a Mornet, or a Paul Hazard.

In his desire to challenge the view that humanistic rationalism was the mainspring of eighteenth-century thought, M. Mauzi is led to overstate the case of Rousseau and the originality of his insights, e.g.: "Rousseau fut le seul à comprendre que nature et vertu ne sont pas synonymes, il fut le seul à penser le citoyen comme fondamentalement différent de l'homme" (p. 656), and this in spite of previous developments (pp. 624–31) showing that Diderot, too, had been fully aware of such problems as well as of some weaknesses of optimistic moralism. M. Mauzi does, however, have a particularly sensitive appreciation for Rousseau's ideal of happiness as solitude and repose amidst the beauties of nature—an ideal which was to contribute to his estrangement from the social-minded Encyclopedists. Perhaps the least successful section of the study concerns Voltaire's refutation of Pascal, which is summarily judged as an ineffective demonstration: "Il est rare que Voltaire ait pris sur Pascal, et la plupart du temps, soit mauvaise foi soit incompréhension, il le frôle ou l'esquive plus qu'il ne lui fait face" (p. 237). This unduly severe evaluation is not doing justice to Voltaire's humanism and moderate hedonism. M. Mauzi is at his best when dealing with Diderot, for here he is sufficiently attuned to

the Encyclopedist to give him a sympathetic treatment (which is not always so when he speaks of Voltaire), yet not too admiring to be uncritical (as in the case of Rousseau).

It is doubtless to be expected that the reader of so comprehensive a study should disagree with some of its statements and developments. The fact remains that the author has brought to his subject vast and original scholarship and a profound understanding of eighteenth-century attitudes and aspirations. He has thus enriched critical literature with an invaluable synthesis. (GITA MAY, *Columbia University*)

Baudelaire: Les Fleurs du Mal. By Alison Fairlie. (Studies in French Literature, ed. by W. G. Moore. No. 6.) London: Edward Arnold, 1960. Pp. 64. Ce nouveau commentaire des *Fleurs du Mal* vient à son heure: il paraît en même temps que cinq volumes sur *Britannicus*, *Tartuffe*, *Polyeucte*, les *Fables* de La Fontaine et *Candide*. Début prometteur d'une collection critique dont le but est de mettre à la disposition de l'étudiant de langue anglaise des commentaires fondés sur les exégèses les plus récentes, mais qui restent de format maniable. Ces minces ouvrages disent l'essentiel sur l'œuvre d'art étudiée—sur ses intentions, sa structure, son style, les raisons de sa permanence, de son emprise sur le lecteur—et le disent succinctement. Ils reprennent en somme, sous une forme plus resserrée, la formule de ces *Chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature expliqués*, qui paraissaient il y a trente ans sous la direction de René Doumic.

La tâche d'A. Fairlie était sans doute la plus ardue, et la façon dont il s'en est acquitté est digne d'éloge. Il ne donne pas le texte, dont nous possédons des éditions excellentes; il ne cherche pas à faire un commentaire philologique complet, comme celui de Crépet et Blin, non plus qu'à épuiser les réactions possibles du critique comme l'avait essayé l'ambitieuse somme—*lutulentum flumen*—de R. B. Chérix. Il se contente d'initier le lecteur aux rapports du concept baudelairien de la poésie avec l'homme et avec le monde sensible, puis aux techniques d'une poétique de la suggestion. Puis il analyse les poèmes dans l'ordre voulu par Baudelaire (c'est-à-dire, pour M. Fairlie comme pour la majorité des éditeurs, celui de l'édition de 1861; ceci suffirait à nous inviter à la prudence: un ordre institué *a posteriori* ne peut être une structure fondamentale; l'attribution de chaque pièce à tel ou tel cycle n'est pas d'ailleurs aussi sûre qu'on semble le croire ici), et l'on ne peut qu'admirer la clarté de l'exposé, la sûreté de l'information, la finesse des jugements, la sensibilité littéraire de l'auteur. Il sait être exact sans se perdre dans le détail; son rapide exposé de la poétique de Baudelaire n'a jamais la sécheresse d'un résumé, car il ramène toujours le lecteur aux textes. Le pas est donné au poème en soi—*Correspondances* est traité comme sonnet, non comme credo de la synesthésie—qu'éclaireront des citations bien choisies des écrits "théoriques" du poète (on peut regretter que certains, les *Paradis artificiels*, par ex., aient été négligés).

Les caractères de la poésie de Baudelaire sont heureusement définis: il y a d'excellentes remarques sur la nature psychologique des sensations qui donnent à la *sorcellerie évocatoire* son efficacité (pp. 26-27), sur l'art avec lequel l'écrivain exprime les variations de ses impressions sensorielles et concilie son goût des formes géométriques et son goût du mouvement, sa *fascination of*

fluidity, sur son intensité enfin, et les trois étapes de sa démarche poétique (pp. 33, 40, etc.). Convaincu que seule la stylistique délivrera l'étude de la littérature des virtuoses de l'impressionnisme et de ceux qui la confondent avec l'histoire des idées, j'ai plaisir à signaler de très bonnes analyses, qu'il s'agisse de remarques isolées sur le parti qu'on peut tirer des variantes (p. 31), sur les rythmes, sur la musicalité du passé simple (p. 41), ou de pénétrantes explications d'ensemble comme celles du *Cygne* et de la *Chevelure*. Elles sont trop brèves, ce qui était inévitable, mais toujours suggestives. A vrai dire, on peut leur reprocher de suivre le jugement de valeur, et de s'employer à le confirmer: elles devraient idéalement porter sur tous les poèmes, pour commencer, et amener à l'évaluation esthétique pour finir. Trop évidemment, les exemples ont été choisis, le départ fait entre ce qui chez Baudelaire est éternel et ce qui a vieilli, en fonction de préférences personnelles et de points de vue modernes. J'hésiterais pour ma part à condamner *Duellum* et *Au lecteur* comme déclamatoires sans au moins me demander jusqu'à quel point ils n'étaient pas ironiques. Qu'est-ce qui définit, d'ailleurs, le déclamatoire, et le déclamatoire exagéré (p. 43), et la "nudité" des mots (p. 25)? L'attitude de Baudelaire à l'égard du poncif (p. 7) n'est pas toujours la nôtre (cf. *Journaux intimes*, éd. Crépet-Blin, p. 296). M. Fairlie n'est pas sans donner dans le travers de la critique post-symboliste, qui se plaît à élever Baudelaire en abaissant le romantisme. Il serait à mon sens plus profitable de voir en lui un des ultimes sommets romantiques (cf. mon "Poétiques et poésies de Diderot à Baudelaire," *RR*, LI [1960], 115-22): sans parler des thèmes du romantisme que reprend Baudelaire, on n'insiste pas assez sur l'influence de Hugo (qui d'ailleurs fait le premier passer le quotidien, tel quel, dans la poésie: choisir Vigny comme repoussoir [p. 18] était par trop facile); c'est chez lui qu'on trouve d'abord des techniques que nous nous sommes habitués à considérer comme typiquement baudelairiennes (comparer, par ex., *Hymne à la Beauté*, v. 10, commenté p. 37, et *Dieu*, v. 2922). M. Fairlie s'égaie de la locomotive de la *Maison du berger*. Mais d'abord il ne s'agit pas là de "noblesse" classique dans la description du quotidien: quotidien pour nous, pour Vigny inquiétudes comparables à celles que nous inspire l'aube de l'ère atomique. Deuxièmement, il n'y a pas enjolivement artificiel, ornements rapportés, mais bien expressivité "fonctionnelle" (cf. celle de Proust décrivant son automobile, *Pastiches et mélanges*, pp. 96-97) soulignant ce qui préoccupe Vigny, les aspects symboliques de la description. Nous ne mettrions pas en question la propriété des images employées, si nous n'avions perdu contact avec l'arsenal mythologique d'où elles sortent: c'était alors le cadre naturel de l'imagination. Sans ce cadre, on n'aurait pas toutes les allégories, les personnifications qui peuplent l'œuvre de Baudelaire. Il ne suffit pas de voir les faits dans leur contexte historique: il faut encore rester en sympathie, si l'on peut dire, avec ce contexte.

Il faut aussi et surtout définir les faits dans le contexte de l'auteur lui-même. L'importance du "surnaturalisme" et de la modernité est bien marquée, mais leur expression stylistique n'est pas serrée de près. L'étude du contraste du concret et de l'abstrait, un des joints où le levier stylistique pèserait efficacement, n'est qu'esquissée, ce qui est compréhensible; mais elle ne suffit pas,

de toutes façons, à rendre compte de structures aussi caractéristiques que les images du type *Vous êtes un beau ciel d'automne clair et rose*, qui annoncent les techniques surréalistes. D'autre part, une comparaison systématique de Baudelaire avec lui-même donnera plus de résultats que la recherche de ses sources: peut-être faudrait-il rapprocher l'architecture idéale de *Rêve parisien* de *La Beauté*; *A une Madone* pourrait servir de centre à l'étude de l'artifice chez Baudelaire et serait à traiter en fonction de ce qu'il dit du concetto, en particulier à propos de *Ténèbres* de Gautier (qu'il admirait plus que M. Fairlie ne fait, p. 16); l'ambivalence des mots-clefs comme *ténèbres*, tantôt lourdes, tantôt rafraîchissantes, reste à explorer, ce qui éclairerait le désaccord intérieur du poète. Tout ceci relève de la stylistique: à mesure que M. Fairlie s'en détourne, sur la fin, il retombe dans des explications trop générales, ou rapides (le *Voyage* est fâcheusement expédié), ou dans des affirmations qui n'expliquent pas ce qui dans le texte les a déclenchées (par ex. p. 36 sur la *Vie antérieure*; "hypersubtilité," p. 47).

Mais ce sont là les servitudes d'un espace cruellement mesuré. Tout ce que dit M. Fairlie est digne de réflexion et, si condensé soit-il, son livre atteindra, pour Baudelaire, au but de la collection: "to close the gap between the writer and the English reader of today." (MICHAEL RIFFATERRE, *Columbia University*)

Zola's Son Excellence Eugène Rougon: An Historical and Critical Study. By Richard B. Grant. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960. Pp. 146. Ce n'est pas à propos de MM. Grant, Sr. et Jr., que l'on évoquera le conflit des générations. La présente monographie fait ample usage d'une étude de sources que le professeur Elliott M. Grant, père de l'auteur, donnait, en février 1953, à la *Romanic Review* ("Studies on Zola's *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*," XLIV, 24-39); mais, comme l'article en question se déclarait tributaire des recherches effectuées par Mr. Grant fils, à la Bibliothèque Nationale, sur les notes de travail d'Emile Zola, l'on aurait fort mauvaise grâce à tenir une comptabilité tâillonne de ces dettes de famille. Saluons plutôt une nouvelle et sympathique conception de l'esprit d'équipe—et félicitons-nous du résultat.

Le résultat est de rendre à *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon* la place importante que ce roman a droit de revendiquer dans la série des *Rougon-Macquart*. Sans doute ne se hausse-t-il point aux prestiges de *L'Assommoir* ou de *Germinal*; et notre auteur a la sagesse d'en convenir. Ceci dûment admis, Mr. R. B. Grant met beaucoup de science et de conviction à prouver que les matériaux sont bons, que l'armature est solide, que l'œuvre, somme toute, témoigne du savoir-faire de l'ouvrier. De son honnêteté aussi, qui se combine avec le savoir-faire pour imprimer au récit un méritoire cachet d'authenticité. Pas de parti-pris si flagrant que le tableau d'ensemble en demeure vicié: malgré la haine que Zola voue au Second Empire, il ne force pas la note plus que de raison; il la force même moins que ne firent, sur la fin du siècle dernier, certains historiens professionnels. Pas d'entorse sérieuse à la chronologie, pas d'inexactitude criarde sur le plan de la documentation: pour superficielles qu'aient été, ici comme à l'habitude, les enquêtes préalables du romancier, son instinct le préserve de l'erreur caractérisée. Même sûreté de main en ce qui concerne les protagonistes: une valable comparaison s'impose entre per-

sonnages fictifs et modèles historiques—entre Rougon et Rouher, entre Marsy et Morny, entre la belle Clorinde Balbi et la comtesse de Castiglione, encore que ces portraits soient composites comme il sied, et que celui de Rougon puisse devoir des traits au peintre lui-même, ce qui serait assez piquant.

L'accent se trouve mis de la sorte sur l'art de Zola: un art fruste, dépourvu des subtilités techniques dont s'accompagne, de nos jours, jusqu'au réalisme le plus brutal; mais, du même coup, un art sans ombre, sans faux-fuyants, efficace à la mesure de sa foncière loyauté. Songez aux difficultés qui confrontaient l'auteur de *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*. Pour la première fois—Mr. Grant l'observe justement—un écrivain français osait entreprendre le roman de l'ambition politique nue: je veux dire, un roman dont l'appétit du pouvoir, considéré comme une passion fondamentale, fournirait le seul ressort ou peu s'en faut. Sujet aride, presque abstrait: nous sommes ici en plein laboratoire naturaliste, occupés à une besogne d'expérimentation et de distillation qui, par instants, nous ferait volontiers oublier l'ambiance et le contexte Second Empire que l'auteur lui voulait donner. Matière peu ductile au surplus, se prêtant mal à une exposition suivie. Intéresser le lecteur aux intrigues de coulisse, aux gros tripotages et aux petites trahisons, passe encore; mais à une séance du conseil des ministres? mais à un quelconque débat parlementaire? mais aux joutes oratoires du gouvernement et d'un fantôme d'opposition? C'est pourtant la gageure que Zola a risquée et largement tenue. Postérieur de cinq ans à *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*, le *Numa Roumestan* de Daudet dilue les effets de cette drogue puissante sous les espèces d'un délicieux bonbon.

Pris dans son ensemble, le roman politique de Zola se révèle d'une portée plus générale, moins *historique*, que l'auteur lui-même ne rêvait ou que le détail fidèle ne laisserait soupçonner de prime abord. Il se peut qu'Eugène Rougon résume en sa personne les abus du régime césarien; mais il est assez fièrement et impartiallement campé pour symboliser tout aussi bien le règne des "machines," des coteries et des cliques tel que nous le voyons sévir, ici ou là, dans la République des camarades. Et voilà qui lui prête, ainsi qu'à la docte analyse de Mr. Grant, une redoutable dimension d'actualité. (JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ, *Columbia University*)

Pirandello and the French Theater. By Thomas Bishop. With a Foreword by Germaine Brée. New York University Studies in Romance Languages and Literature, 3. New York: New York University Press, 1960. Pp. xix + 170. In her foreword to this study, Professor Brée says that while "it is fairly easy to see why Pirandello's plays had an impact on French playwrights... it is harder to distinguish how his influence shaped in part their dramatic techniques or points of view" (p. xii). In tracing the importance of Pirandello for the French theater from 1922 (production of *La Volupté de l'honneur*) to the 1950's (Beckett, Adamov, Ionesco, Genet), Professor Bishop summarizes briefly the why for each of the chronological divisions chosen by him (the nineteen twenties, the nineteen thirties, the post-war era), and studies the how by using as a frame of reference five recurrent themes in Pirandello's theater, which he isolates and defines rather extensively in a key chapter, "The Ideas in Pirandello's Theater" (pp. 11-47). Professor Bishop has thus given substance to the oft-repeated

claims of Pirandello's unique importance (in support he quotes extensively from letters written him by Achard, Cocteau, Romain, Salacrou and others), and has rounded out partial studies of Pirandello's influence, such as Alba-Marie Fazio's unpublished Columbia dissertation "Luigi Pirandello and Jean Anouilh," and the suggestions contained in Silvio d'Amico's "Fortuna di Pirandello" (*Rivista di Studi Teatrali*, I, July-December 1952). The study is commendable for its tight, linear exposition, and it is certainly timely, considering the giant strides in popular interest taken by the avant-garde theater in recent years. It is also valuable as a convenient reference work.

Although the focus of interest correctly lies on the French theater rather than on Pirandello himself, Professor Bishop has prefixed his study with a short biographical sketch of the playwright. Here perhaps more than elsewhere are apparent those traits of over-simplification, repetition and hasty writing, which from time to time annoy the reader throughout. The fault is of course not all Professor Bishop's. His sources for the biography leave much to be desired in themselves: Vittorini's *Drama of Luigi Pirandello* is at best a weak work, Nardelli's *L'Uomo segreto* is romanticizing with a vengeance, Eric Bentley's note in *Naked Masks* is disproportionately preoccupied with Pirandello's attitude towards Fascism. Of course, very little is actually known about Pirandello. There exists no good biography. His correspondence, of which Marta Abba recently published some *échantillons* (Introduction to Pirandello's *The Mountain Giants and Other Plays*, New York, Crown Publishers, 1958), lies completely untapped, as do his private papers. Under these circumstances it would surely have been wiser to avoid interpretations altogether, especially facile suppositions as to the role to be attributed to family tragedies in the crystallization of Pirandello's pessimistic outlook, or the dramatizing of his involvement with the Fascist government. In this last respect, it seems that the time should be ripe to abandon the tone of moralistic outrage and horror with which Fascism continues to be mentioned in American critical writing on contemporary Italian literature. By profession the literary historian deals with multi-faceted material. It is up to him to emphasize or minimize. After all, if Pirandello "indulged in the melodramatic gesture of donating his Nobel Prize medal to be melted down for guns at the time of the invasion of Ethiopia" (p. 3), he had not many years before (1928) written to Marta Abba, "Around him (i.e., Mussolini) all heads must be level, they must reach no higher than his knees" (*The Mountain Giants and Other Plays*, p. 9), and in the same letter he had drawn in Kafkaesque terms a situation which he summarized elsewhere (*Ibid.*, p. 8) with the cry: "Life in Italy has become unbearable. I must leave! And go far away!"

In reducing Pirandello's indebtedness to Verga to the statement that "his interest in Sicily...was instilled in him by Giovanni Verga" (p. 2), Professor Bishop again is guilty of misleading over-simplification. And the same holds true for the concluding paragraph (p. 4) which characterizes Pirandello in somewhat oracular fashion as "the man who had rejuvenated the theater, modernized out-dated decadent literature by stressing the pessimistic over the sensual [but if this is so, why does Professor Bishop adopt such an apologetic tone about Pirandello's pessimism on pp. 46-47?], and brought relativism to the stage."

Professor Bishop moves to firmer ground when he analyzes the plays of Pirandello and of his French followers. Here he gives evidence of close acquaintance with the texts and of strict adherence to the limits of his study. Some superficial psychological pronouncements might perhaps have been avoided: "The basic aspects of the plot of *Enrico IV* read like a case history of amnesia compounded with schizophrenia" (p. 26), or "Indeed, a well-rounded personality would surely contain both," i.e., a serious and a carefree side (p. 32). But Professor Bishop's cautious treatment of the problem of influence in general (p. xviii) and of Pirandello's in particular (p. 119) is very satisfactory. Some further light on this influence will perhaps be shed when more information on Pirandello himself becomes available. It is to be supposed that Pirandello's repeated trips to Paris, his residence there from the end of 1930 to the beginning of 1932, produced their share of personal contacts. Against that background the study of the relation between Pirandello and the French theater may well gain in depth and liveliness.

Two small misprints: "Grigenti" for "Girgenti" on page 1, "recità" for "recita" on page 115. (OLGA RAGUSA, *Columbia University*)

Les Dialogues de Paul Valéry. Par Jeannine Parisier-Plottel. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960. Pp. 106. This volume provides a useful survey and analysis of the ideas of Valéry's chief dialogues. It is the first work devoted to the dialogues as such—as compared with studies of the separate dialogues (discussed in a useful footnote on p. 2 and listed in a reliable bibliography—pp. 101–106); and the writer notes the importance of Valéry's contribution to a genre which has been only intermittently practiced since the dialogues of Plato and the dialogues of the dead of Lucian received attention again with the Renaissance. It is true that her characterisation of Valéry as "le plus grand maître du dialogue que la France ait connu" (p. 98) would seem to assume some assessment of the other masters—e.g. Fénelon, Fontenelle, Renan—even if there seems no evidence that Valéry paid any attention to them; and such an assessment is not provided here.

Various critics and scholars have pointed to the use Valéry makes of Plato; but the author is right to recognise that he made light of his debt, while recognizing what he owed to the lively and varied beginning of Plato's dialogues. He took from him some of his chief characters (Socrates, Phaedrus, Eryximachus). But Valéry's are not dialogues in Plato's sense; their Socrates does not, following a seemingly tentative beginning, demolish with a relentless dialectic the successive arguments of his interlocutors, leading them on to some final truth. In the two chief of them Valéry's Socrates ends by disavowing his whole existence as a philosopher: in *Eupalinos* he glorifies the "anti-Socrate"—the builder, as distinct from the knower and contemplator; and in *L'Âme et la Danse* his inspired improvisations culminate in the extolling of "le Vertige."

Valéry himself claimed that he had adopted the supple dialogue form in order to meet the requirements of the editor of the magnificently printed *Architectures*, which were precise to the point of requiring that his *discursus* on architecture should be strictly limited to a given number not just of words but of letters. He takes his characters from Plato; but otherwise this, his first dia-

logue, with Socrates and Phaedrus meeting in the Underworld, is, like those of Lucian, a Dialogue of the Dead and was described as such in the Album where it first appeared—a point which Mme Parisier-Plottel might have noted.¹ *L'Ame et la Danse* and *Socrate et son médecin* are not, on the other hand, dialogues of the dead—but are no nearer to Plato for that. All three, however, possess a certain coherence and cohesion, the behavior of their characters approximating to that of the Platonic figures whose names they bear—and this is also true of the fragment *Orgueil pour orgueil*.

If the exigencies just mentioned combined with the theme of architecture led Valéry into adopting the dialogue form and a Greek décor, Mme Parisier-Plottel might well have recalled the memory of Mallarmé's *mardis* as an encouragement to adopting an antiphonal form reflecting the encounter of minds afire with preoccupations that bring them together. "Quelle soirée pour moi, centrale comme la strette d'une fugue!" wrote Valéry to Thibaudet in 1912 of a conversation he had had with Mallarmé on Poe; and while he remains endearingly close to the Socrates of History, the rapt Socrate of *L'Ame et la Danse* also reflects something of the general attitude of the master of the rue de Rome and not only of his ideas on dance—as recognised by Mme Parisier-Plottel (p. 41) and by Miss D. Priddin before her (*The Art of the Dance in French Literature*, 1952).

The writer has properly pointed to Valéry's own facility and brilliance as a conversationalist as a factor which must have predisposed him to a form which leaves such scope to the improvisation of the moment. This characteristic is perhaps reflected in its most direct form in *L'Idée fixe*, in which the Author (who also sets the scene) describes his conversation with one of his medical friends when they met during their holiday on the Côte d'Azur. It would have been useful to tie up this Author ("Edmond T") with the Teste saga and to say something of the "Médecin"—the dialogue is dedicated to Henri Mondor. Despite the conditions of urgency under which (as Valéry mentions in his preface) this brilliant piece of higher persiflage was produced—he had to write "as one speaks"—he created something of great vitality and charm, and expressive in a high degree of Valéry's "optimistic scepticism."

With the *Dialogue de l'Arbre* Valéry reverts to a Classical—this time a Roman—setting. Mme Parisier-Plottel properly relates it to the task the poet had undertaken of translating into unrimed verse the *Bucolics* of Virgil—and also to the poet's old obsession with trees. The rather arbitrary association of one great Latin poet (symbolized by Tityrus) with naïve and poetic response to reality and of the other, Lucretius, with intellectual analysis is another example of Valéry's habit of polarising two attitudes and preoccupations—as he had done with Phaedrus and Socrates:

Tityre et Lucrèce participent tous deux au mode de l'arbre: l'un par son entière soumission aux choses en tant qu'apparences, l'autre par sa méditation qui se calque exactement sur leur essence secrète. Tel est le lien secret qui rapproche l'artiste et le penseur. (p. 67)

1. But she does use, regarding *Eupalinos*, the strange phrase: "un dialogue des morts, à la manière de Platon" (p. 7). Can she mean: "mais à la manière de Platon," i.e. in so far as the characters are drawn from Plato's dialogues?

While the analysis of the ideas of the main dialogues is useful, it must be recognised that their cohesion inside each is advisedly fortuitous. What is notable are the subtle transitions and the singular beauty which attention to form has inspired Valéry to give to the expression of some of those ideas. This indeed is recognized in a concluding chapter on "L'Art du dialogue" which is all too short. "L'ordre n'est pas logique, mais décoratif," as the writer says of *L'Ame et la Danse* (p. 77).

We have latterly come to realize to what extent the *Cahiers* (still appearing) were the quarry whence Valéry drew some of his richest materials; and Mme Parisier-Plottel provides us with a valuable example of the effective use made of the *Cahiers* for *Eupalinos* which draws from them a description of an object found by the sea near Maguelonne and develops it into some wonderful pages put into the mouth of Socrates (pp. 91-92). She makes out a good case for Valéry's debt in *Eupalinos* to Viollet-le-Duc's *Entretiens* (pp. 89-91). And she also proposes Maurice de Guérin's *Centaure* as the source of Socrates' delighted encounter with the foam (pp. 93-95). While this *rapprochement* appears less telling than that made by M. Bémol between the concluding passage of Guérin's *Bacchante*, describing the latter's encounter with the serpent, and the *Jeune Parque* (which she cites in corroboration), it serves to remind us of the existence of an iridescent thread of prose poetry running through French literature from Fénelon to the present day. Such reminders in no way detract from the remarkable beauty of the prose of Valéry's main dialogues—composed in a form which Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, classes among the kinds of poetry. (WILLIAM McC. STEWART, *University of Bristol, England*)

The Ideal Reader: Selected Essays by Jacques Rivière. Edited, translated and introduced by Blanche A. Price. New York: Meridian Books, 1960. Pp. 282. In his preface to this volume, Henri Peyre speaks of "an act of courage on the part of translator and publisher alike." Indeed, the publisher deserves our respect for making available the non-obvious and special; in keeping with other titles in his offerings, he has shown rare discernment in choosing also the excellent and important. Miss Price's graceful and fluent translation is so close in spirit to the sensitive prose of Rivière that the reader is suddenly stopped short by the realization that Rivière did not write this fluent English.

Miss Price's introduction is an important literary essay in its own right. For she has, after sketching well the all-important background, interpreted with sympathy, measure and exactitude the vital role played by Rivière in modern French literature. That role, so often overshadowed by better-known and more prolific writers of the first quarter of the century, is not so easily assayed. But the general erudition of the editor and her close acquaintanceship with the period has made it possible for her to make Rivière stand out in clear relief, a relief all the more effective for its objectivity. This must not be taken to mean that Price has given us a cold and sterile portrait of her subject. In her account of the life and ideas of Rivière, one senses a very real personal warmth and sympathy which, however, never overstates the case. Her decision to organize the literary and intellectual formation of Rivière around the key personalities of Alain-Fournier, Claudel, Gide and Proust is an indication, at

once, of the editor's discernment and an immediate sign to the American reader of the place occupied by Rivière in French letters. For, as Miss Price shows so well, it is in the very different relationships with these four that the many-faceted nature of Rivière finally begins to manifest itself clearly.

The editor is best in her sensitive description and appraisal of Rivière's critical approach, manner and aim. Small wonder that both Gide and Claudel found him eventually elusive: for Claudel he lacks "grip," for Gide he "seeks to caress himself in others." Miss Price rightly concludes that both men were somewhat piqued by Rivière's reluctance to be their disciple and by his always fresh, perhaps naive, but never formalized need to know for himself, to think through the literary text, the theatrical work, the musical composition or the painting in his own terms before drawing conclusions. And it is because his own terms express more than personal taste and partake immediately of a universality, based as they are on sensitivity tempered with broad knowledge of the European philosophic and literary mind, that his criticism plays such a rare role in the unfamiliar and untested twentieth century. Abandoning critical jargon and fixed critical theory, he manages somehow to give unabashed freedom to his feelings and enthusiasms and yet to escape pure subjective opinion. Miss Price seizes this "désinvolte" side of Rivière throughout her introduction but she describes particularly well the process by which this lively feeling-thinking becomes criticism in this admirably simple passage. "He is not trying to reveal himself, but to communicate what he sees in the work under scrutiny. He forgets himself, and we forget his presence, in the intensity of the gaze that is fixed upon the subject matter. Completely attentive to the slightest movement of the material he is studying, he guides our eyes; we see what he is seeing; we are conscious of being shown, and without being distracted by the voice of our guide, we, too, concentrate upon the subject." Rivière was in the true sense of the word a creative critic, yet he never forgot that his role was still that of a critic and, therefore, secondary in timing and importance to the creator who had given him his material. Miss Price sees the entire man when she suggests that "if Rivière is to be compared with any of the earlier critics, he must be compared to the creators: Diderot, Baudelaire."

The collection is divided into three sections headed "Perception of New Trends," "Proust and Freud," and "In Defense of Literature." These are good rubrics and the material fitted into them shows a broad knowledge of Rivière's writings and a fine sense of discernment. Naturally there are limits to the number of pages even the best of editors and publishers can print. Thus this reviewer recognizes his cavil when he suggests that room could perhaps have been found for one essay on painters (perhaps Cézanne), to show another facet of Rivière's critical mind, and for something of the rich material on Gide to counterbalance yet not subtract from the rich passages on Proust.

The long essay on "The Adventure Novel" has deservedly become a minor classic and Miss Price does all devotees of literature and particularly of the novel as genre a great service in giving us a faithful and readable translation of it. One is struck by Rivière's vision in sensing what must happen to the genre. One is equally aware of the limitations he himself would have put to the "adventure" aspect of the new novel had he written the article after the

war and after Proust. He is here still very close to Fournier; and the essay, although valid and timely in its post-symbolism setting, seems to have foreseen the flowering of the detective novel (perhaps à la Simenon) more clearly than the prevailing direction taken by the novel after World War I (even including Malraux and Saint-Exupéry), not to mention the renewal of the genre in the past twenty years. The essay on Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* seems destined to remain the freshest interpretation of that work, whether by layman or musicologist, and all the more a tribute to Rivière's singularly keen perception in that it bears the date of 1913.

The second division of the collection on Proust and on the sympathetic vibrations and catalytic waves between Freud's theories and Proust's recreation is essential reading for anyone interested in the modern mind, in whatever field he may be. But perhaps the more vital literary contribution of this second section is the subtle suggestion of how Proust changed the uses of psychology for the novelist or, better, how he invented a new psychology or so deepened the traditional psychology as to orient all of literature in another direction. This whole problem of Proust's renewal of fictional psychology is thorny indeed, and Rivière in the carefully chosen essays of this section says more, and says it more subtly, than have many Proust critics since.

The third section of miscellaneous essays points up, as does the whole of *The Ideal Reader*, the singular acumen with which Rivière comprehended the changing faces of Romanticism in European literature—whether they be called realism, naturalism, symbolism or Dada. The essays on Dada and on French writing since the war, in particular, are pregnant with that peculiar literary sixth-sense which was Rivière's and which came from a very personal confrontation with texts and a courageous refusal to be impressed by movements, jargon and cant. Rivière's replies to Massis and Benda show us his subtly balanced judgment, which could love the romantic and yet chasten him for not performing the writer's true function, which could remind the writer of the heights and virtues of classicism without crusading for a new classicism and without assuming the stiff posturings of those two worthy preachers of intellect and order.

The Ideal Reader is a key document in the history of twentieth-century literature and, indeed, of twentieth-century culture, temper and mood. *The Ideal Reader* can indeed be interpreted in two senses. Not only was Rivière the ideal reader for the creative and pioneering minds of his time, but this collection constitutes, along with the recent *From the NRF* (ed. Justin O'Brien), an ideal set of readings in understanding the twentieth-century western mind. (J. ROBERT LOY, *Brooklyn College*)

Malraux. By Geoffrey H. Hartman. New York: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1960. Pp. 103. *André Malraux: The Conquest of Dread*. By Gerda Blumenthal. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. Pp. xii + 159. In varying degrees, both of these most recent books on Malraux belong to what might be termed lyrical criticism. The authors select a major theme, one through which they can display empathy with the writer being studied, follow its development in the body of his works, thereby giving it a poetic unity of their

own making. In this respect, Mr. Hartman is much less "lyrical" than Miss Blumenthal; for he also attempts a general presentation of Malraux's major writings. As a result, and no doubt because of the limitations placed upon him by the scope of the "Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought" series for which his essay was written, it is the less unified or rewarding of the two.

Mr. Hartman's themes appear to be mainly those of Quest and Question: the works of Malraux are shown to be a search for Man conducted in the face of a universe's "questioning and mocking Man's presence" (p. 12). In the opening chapter entitled "Abiding the Question" we are presented with an examination of the initial scene of *La Condition humaine* in which Mr. Hartman tries to illuminate Malraux's position with references to Dostoevski and Stendhal, Marxism and Greek tragedy, before proceeding with a chronological interpretation of his works. Mr. Hartman is, of course, a comparatist and does not hesitate to draw upon his knowledge of various literatures to bring aspects of Malraux's novels or characters into sharper focus. While this comparative method is undoubtedly a most fruitful one, it does seem a little ludicrous to refer to the Roman concepts of *vir* and *virtus* in connection with Grabot (p. 39); it does also, on occasion (and this may be due to space limitations), appear as though the comparison were reduced to the superficiality of mere name-dropping. Thus, within a little more than a page, we find allusions to *The Rebel*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moby-Dick*, Valéry, Thomas Mann, Eliot, and Buber (pp. 29-30); elsewhere, within a dozen lines, there is mention of *Faust*, Hugo, Michelet, Balzac, and Stendhal (p. 37). A single reference is often much more effective—as Miss Blumenthal demonstrates when she links the Negus, of *L'Espoir*, with Ivan Karamazov (p. 85), and lets the reader further develop the comparison within his own frame of reference.

In succeeding chapters Mr. Hartman takes up *La Tentation de l'occident* and *Les Conquérants* ("The Sickness unto Action"); *La Voie royale* and *La Condition humaine* ("In Search of Man"); *Le Temps du mépris*, *L'Espoir*, and *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* ("The Return from Hell"). Finally, in the chapter entitled "The Psychology of Art," he discusses the first of Malraux's monumental works on art rather than *Les Voix du silence* and refers only twice to *La Métamorphose des dieux*. This mere enumeration readily shows that, as Mr. Hartman is first to recognize in his "Prefatory Note," "This little volume suffers, doubtless, from many omissions . . ." (p. viii). It also suffers, as does Miss Blumenthal's and much contemporary criticism, from being so wrapped up in its mythology that the reader is occasionally left behind to struggle on his own—in this case through a maze of capitalized words such as Man, Tragedy, Time, and Fate. Ironically enough, Mr. Hartman himself had previously objected, in an article published in the *Yale French Studies* special issue on Malraux, "to certain statements of general theory [made by Malraux], which use the words creativity, revolt, destiny, fate, like a ceaseless reiteration in verbal form of the first bars of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony." It is apparently very easy to take on the habit. The word "fate," incidentally, crops up a number of times as it well might in any discussion of the works of Malraux. Here, however, one is inclined to ask the same question that Thirard

asked of Vincent Berger when the latter spoke of "la conscience que nous avons de notre destin": "... je voudrais savoir ce que vous entendez exactement par là..." Part of the trouble goes back to the English translation of the title of *La Condition humaine*: Mr. Hartman's "fate" refers both to "condition" and to "destin." Another difficulty involves the problem of ascertaining what Malraux himself has in mind when he uses the word "destin." Thus, when one of the characters in *L'Espoir* says that "la tragédie de la mort est en ceci qu'elle transforme la vie en destin," he is playing on one meaning of the French term that does not correspond to the usual connotation of the English "fate."

Leaving these drawbacks aside, however, the merit of Mr. Hartman's book lies in his presenting a fairly comprehensive survey of the concepts of Malraux compressed into a relatively small number of pages—without playing up to a mythical general reader in any excessive fashion. While doing so, he introduces a number of ideas and insights—such as, for instance, what he calls the synonymy to be found in *Le Temps du mépris* and *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*—that are worth pursuing further.

Miss Blumenthal makes her study revolve about the two opposite poles of darkness and light. The "conquest of dread" of her title is shown to be effected by Malraux through his gradual exorcising of inhuman, saturnine elements and the bringing forth of the truly human: terror and despair are thus replaced by compassion and hope. In the first part of her book, "Saturnalia," she takes up *Les Conquérants*, *La Voie royale*, and *La Condition humaine*; the second part, "Twilight," deals with *Le Temps du mépris*, goes back to *La Condition humaine* and on to *L'Espoir*; finally, the third part, "Metamorphoses," considers *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* and *Les Voix du silence*. (Written several years ago, her study does not account for *La Métamorphose des dieux*.) As in Mr. Hartman's book, there are omissions (but her purpose being different they are not so noticeable); there are no references to *La Psychologie de l'art* presumably because Miss Blumenthal is less concerned with style or details of expression or composition, more with the broad manifestations of Malraux's inner quest.

On the whole Miss Blumenthal is most successful in her undertaking, although she occasionally indulges in dangerous practices. From an exalted position in her thematic universe she has a tendency to stylize and straighten the crooked facts of the literal world of Malraux's text. For instance, in summarizing Claude Vannec's reminiscences of his grandfather, she writes: "All his grandfather's life had been one continuous gesture of disgust with his existence [it had not been 'continuous,' there were stages in his evolution; also, Malraux speaks only of his 'dégout du monde'—not 'de la vie'] and disdain for those who submitted to life's treacheries and accepted its humiliating compromises [he did scorn men's actions and consider them with 'indulgence haineuse'; treacheries and humiliations are not specifically in the text]. He would lodge itinerant circuses in his courtyard, elephants and all, in protest against the town's respectability [this took place only after his wife's death and the lawsuits; Malraux in this passage twice refers to his 'hostilité' toward 'vertus respectées' or 'établies,' rather than to any protest], and ruin the once

flourishing family business in lawsuit upon disastrous lawsuit [it was not, strictly speaking, a family business, for he himself had established the 'Maison Vannec'; his business was ruined after his wife's death, after the major portion of his fishing fleet had been wrecked off Newfoundland and the insurance companies refused to pay, when he apparently distributed most of his liquid assets to the widows of his drowned sailors and lost interest in his affairs—then the lawsuits began, undoubtedly brought by unpaid creditors of the firm].” After a number of lines that are more congruent with Malraux's text the summary ends: “At last death, that passionately loved foe, allowed him an end to his game when, in a final and most fitting gesture of unconscious rage, he accidentally split his skull with an axe” (p. 15). All Malraux says is that the old man had been “pris d'un étourdissement” when attempting to demonstrate how much better he could handle the axe; he gives no explicit justification for considering death as the grandfather's “passionately loved foe.”

This is lyrical criticism indeed, and Miss Blumenthal unconcernedly tramples on the ground cover to get at her prize flowers. Mr. Hartman is generally more respectful of such things. What is interesting, however, is that of the two it is Miss Blumenthal who comes up with the more penetrating analysis of her subject. It is not enough to say that intuition and luck have saved her—that only minor things were distorted, or that they were bent in the right direction; for not only does she go to the essence of Malraux's works, she also brings to bear upon his thought a very keen critical faculty. Thus, she points to the analogy that exists between earlier conqueror and later artist; she also emphasizes the “unresolved ambiguities” and the contradictions that emerge from *Les Voix du silence*. Of course, there is no reason to believe that more attentive consideration given to factual details would have seriously damaged her book.

Miss Blumenthal has included a short but useful index and no bibliography (the only critic she refers to by name is Gaëtan Picon, for “his beautiful study on Malraux”). Mr. Hartman provides a short bibliography and no index. (LEON S. ROUDIEZ, *Columbia University*)

Camus le juste. Par Georges Hourdin. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1960. Coll. “Tout le Monde en Parle.” Pp. 108. Camus would have winced at the title of Georges Hourdin's little book. Few things made him feel more uncomfortable than to hear people use adjectives like “noble” and “just” to describe him. He thirsted for justice and craved to be just, but he was not a just man and he knew it only too well. He said so in a preface to Konrad Bieber's *L'Allemagne vue par les écrivains de la Résistance française* (1954): “Je suis un homme sans justice et que cette infirmité tourmente, voilà tout.” And yet such adjectives come naturally to us as we look back at Camus' great and tragic image, so the title of M. Hourdin's personal tribute to Camus seems appropriate, so the title of M. Hourdin's personal tribute to Camus seems appropriate.

Like many devout Roman Catholics, M. Hourdin has a great affection for Camus and feels compelled to carry on a dialogue with him: “il nous semble utile de discuter avec lui, une fois encore, des problèmes conjugués du mal-

heur humain, de l'assassinat politique et de Dieu." The dialogue is pursued in nine sketchy chapters devoted mainly to Camus' essays and newspaper articles. M. Hourdin adds nothing to what is already known about Camus. Frequently he oversimplifies or distorts Camus' ideas to such an extent that they become banal or puerile. This is the great danger of a work intended for popular consumption, and M. Hourdin plunges right into it.

Like most of the World War II generation M. Hourdin was deeply moved by *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*. Much of it he still accepts: "Accepter l'affrontement quotidien, refuser le suicide, s'attacher au réel sans cesser d'être lucide et inlassable, reconnaître l'absurdité du monde et le tragique du mal, tout cela nous l'avons fait, nous le faisons encore, dans la mesure où nous le pouvons." But he believes in Christ crucified, and this changes everything, of course. "Le mythe et l'absurde s'évanouissent alors pour faire place au mystère." M. Hourdin's argument is not unlike Paneloux's in the second sermon which is preached in *La Peste*. There is an important difference, however. Paneloux was tormented and finally killed by anguish and doubt. Mystery seems to bother M. Hourdin somewhat less. He *knows* that after the hideous suffering of life, see "l'horizon illimité des verts pâturages où les justes plantent leur tentes, pour l'éternité, dans la lumière." The dialogue on this subject ends here, naturally.

M. Hourdin deals with *L'Homme révolté* (which he thinks was published in 1953)¹ in more or less the same way. What Camus calls revolt, he says, Christians call charity, "avec sa double face de compassion individuelle et de justice collective." Christians know the dialectic of revolt. Prayer permits them to identify themselves with those who suffer, to imagine what they suffer. They are with the humiliated, the poor and the innocent. But they will exclude from human brotherhood neither the rich, nor the French in Algeria, nor the French Fascists, nor the Communists. "L'amour, puisqu'il faut l'appeler par son nom, que nous portons aux autres hommes, est sans exclusive, mais nous tentons de le hiérarchiser, pour ne pas rompre inutilement l'ordre nécessaire du monde social." I am not sure of the meaning of this sentence, but it has a suggestive ambiguity that offers delightful possibilities of interpretation. In his last chapter, on Camus the disbeliever and the Christians, M. Hourdin asks himself what separates the two. His answer is simple. Camus was a moralist. He was concerned exclusively with man. The Christian's first concern is Christ, "le frère universel des hommes," through whom he loves man. "Le chrétien vit en union avec les autres. Il prie pour eux et avec eux. Il participe à leurs joies, à leurs tourments, à leurs souffrances et à leurs deuils. Un enfant à la tête pleine de pustules qui tend la main dans les rues de Tunis ou d'Alger lui fait mal comme s'il s'agissait de son propre fils. Une femme couchée dans le ruisseau d'une rue de Calcutta, qui meurt lentement de faim et de fatigue au milieu de l'indifférence des foules éveille en lui des sentiments de compassion infinie." This is the way the dialogue comes to an end, and M. Hourdin has the final word. "Le chrétien aime et, s'il est nécessaire, il se retrouve avec tous les Camus de la terre, à leurs côtés, dans les luttes, gran-

1. "Ce livre a été publié en 1953" (p. 65). The bibliography has the correct date.

des ou petites, de la vie quotidienne, car l'amour ne lui masque ni la justice, ni la morale, mais les précède."

There is more than this kind of Sunday-school cliché in M. Hourdin's book. He is good, for example, on Camus' newspaper career, on Camus and Algeria, and on the tensions that pursued Camus right up to that violent ending on Route 5. What is good in this little book is not new, however, and does not compensate for what is bad in it. The cover has a photograph of Camus, head slightly cocked, with that faint, ironic, but friendly smile. It is the best comment that could possibly be made about *Camus le juste*. (CARL A. VIGGIANI, *Wesleyan University*)



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